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The Shape of Things

THE EXCHANGE BY WASHINGTON AND Moscow of harsh, uncompromising notes, the speeches of Mr. Truman and Mr. Acheson announcing a stepped-up tempo and new methods in the cold war, including an American "campaign of truth" to sell freedom to the world as an alternative to Soviet slavery, the fall of Hainan to the Chinese Communists, Moscow's sudden raising of the Trieste and Dardanelles issues—all these have provided a jangling fanfare for the celebration of the United Nations' fifth anniversary. Perhaps it is a cause of felicitation that the U. N. still lives while its greatest members arm against each other and defy its precepts every time their representatives put words on paper or on the air. But survival in the present circumstances is hardly enough to make speeches about. With Russia and its satellites boycotting every United Nations body in which China is represented and a Chinese Nationalist solemnly taking his seat in every one, the work of the U. N. has slowed down almost to a standstill. Nobody outside the Soviet bloc excuses Russia's behavior, but very few delegations approve the American stand either. For the United States has opposed the earnest efforts of various delegates and of Secretary General Lie to end the deadlock by taking in the Chinese Communist government, and has obviously done so out of cold-war motives—even though most first-hand observers believe that Moscow deliberately adopted a course calculated to head off American acceptance of the Peiping regime. Now that the Chinese Communists have successfully invaded Hainan, the claim of Chiang Kai-shek's regime to membership in the U. N. becomes still more tenuous and the American position even less defensible.

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CLEARLY THE IMPASSE MUST BE ENDED IF the United Nations is to go on. But feeling between the two great antagonists has hardened rather than improved in recent weeks. The Russian attack on an American plane has aroused fierce resentment in this country. No one in America outside the ranks of Communist sympathizers accepts the Soviet version of the affair—that an armed B-29, intercepted while engaged in reconnaissance over Russian territory, ignored Soviet orders to land, attacked the intercepting plane, and was then fired on and driven out over the Baltic. Russia, of course, categorically denies the American claim—that an unarmed navy Privateer, flying a peaceful mission, was wantonly attacked and brought down in the Baltic well outside Soviet territorial waters. Since neither story seems likely to be proved by material evidence, it may be assumed that no impartial judgment will be rendered even if the United States should submit the case to the World Court. What will remain is increased suspicion backed by new, provocative demonstrations on both sides to prove that neither party has been intimidated by the other. And another step toward war will have been taken that could easily have been avoided. For it must be said that Russia need not have shot down an American warplane even if one had in fact appeared over Latvian territory and had refused to land. A prompt complaint submitted to the Security Council would have made more convincing Russia's professed devotion to the United Nations and to peaceful methods of settling disputes.

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PERHAPS THE ONE MODESTLY HOPEFUL item on the agenda of the U. N.'s fifth birthday was the departure of Secretary General Lie on his peace mission to Europe. Mr. Lie made no prophecies or promises. He viewed the cold war in a grim twenty-year perspective. But before he left he made the important proposal that a meeting of the Security Council—without Nationalist China—should be held soon with the member nations represented by their Foreign Ministers or chiefs of state. Only such a gathering, he believed, could make a start toward overcoming the principal obstacles to agreement between Russia and the West. Whether he carries with him any indication that President Truman and Secretary Acheson are ready to modify the fixed stand they have taken publicly on atomic control, no one knows, though he saw both officials privately before leaving. Whether he will even be received by Mr. Stalin, only Mr. Lie knows—if he does. But at least he is going to try to bridge a gap that can hardly grow any wider without splitting the globe apart and ending forever the usefulness, if not the very existence, of the United Nations.

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THIS MOMENT IS ALMOST PAINFULLY appropriate for the conference called by the Nation Associates for this week-end in New York. The atomic era, can it bring peace and abundance—or only deso-

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lation and the end of civilized life? To discuss this question we have gathered together some of the most honest, outspoken, and informed leaders available, and we suggest again that all readers within reach of the city take part in one or all of the sessions on Saturday and Sunday and attend the dinner-forum on Sunday night. The final details are announced on the inside front cover and on page 411 of this issue.

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THE CONTROVERSY OVER THE LOYALTY oath at the University of California came to a weirdly inconclusive end on April 22 when the regents voted twenty-one to one to rescind the ultimatum which had been given the faculty and at the same time accepted a face-saving "formula" devised by a committee of the alumni association. In accepting employment, faculty members and other employees will now sign a letter which includes this statement: "I am not a member of the Communist Party or any other organization which advocates the overthrow of the government by force and violence." Those faculty members who do not wish to sign the letter may petition the president for a review of their case by a committee of the academic senate. That committee, after a hearing, will then report to the regents, whose decision shall be final. So the faculty has won a nominal victory, but the basic issue—the right of the regents to determine academic competence and to establish a political test—is left unresolved. Unfortunately, the professors were unable to fight on principle, for they had in effect surrendered the principle involved when they acquiesced in the policy, announced by the regents on October 11, 1949, that Communists as such were ineligible for employment. In the midst of the current controversy the faculty by a secret-ballot referendum overwhelmingly reaffirmed this view, leaving the issue rather ambiguous. As the April 30 deadline approached, incredible pressure was brought to bear on the "resisters." Of great aid to the faculty in the final week of the "war of nerves" was Dr. Robert M. Hutchins's statement that the University of Chicago's faculty had voted to raise a fund of $80,000 for the aid of any California professors who might be forced from their position. The Berkeley controversy was a war of words, but just what it decided seems dubious as the dust settles.

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IN REFUSING TO REVIEW TWO CONTEMPT of Congress convictions the Supreme Court has in effect ruled that a Congressional committee may compel a man to reveal his political connections. It has apparently accepted the argument that this prerogative is inherent in the power of Congress to investigate, to which, as one commentator suggests, "there is literally no limit."

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We emphatically believe, and hope the court will soon again come to believe, that in no branch or agency of the American government is there power without limit. Obviously Congress has and must have the right to investigate, and we can think of circumstances in which a question concerning a man's politics would be necessary and proper. But in the case of John Howard Lawson and Dalton Trumbo, two of the ten Hollywood writers who refused to say whether or not they were Communists, the House Committee on Un-American Activities grossly abused its power, in the opinion of many thoroughly anti-Communist citizens. It is certainly a function of the court at least to consider the possibility of such abuse. The right to investigate is vested in Congress as part of the process of legislation; it was not meant to enable a handful of men to compile a black list of Communists in private life so that their employers —movie producers in this instance—could dismiss them from their jobs and banish them from the industry. No law to deprive Communists of their bread and butter was drafted as the result of the committee's probe of Hollywood, or even contemplated, and if one had been passed it would presumably have been struck down by this same court. Yet by refusing to hear the appeal the majority of the court—Justices Black and Douglas dissented—has given Congress permission to achieve indirectly what it may not do by law. Unless the judges reverse themselves, there is now nothing but public opinion to prevent a Congressional committee from serving as a super screening agency—to save the films from Communists today and perhaps the press from New Dealers tomorrow.

The British Budget

HEEDLESS of siren calls for lower taxes, Sir Stafford Cripps, Labor's Chancellor of the Exchequer, is continuing his efforts to steer Britain's economy through the narrow waters that separate the Scylla of inflation from the Charybdis of deflation. In his third Budget he had to make provision for increased expenditure, chiefly for defense and the National Health Service, and at the same time had to anticipate some falling off of revenue owing to the delayed effects of tax concessions made a year ago and some shrinkage in the yield of liquor and tobacco excises. Nevertheless, he has again provided for a large surplus—some $1,200,000,000—on current account. This sum, however, will be more than absorbed in the coming year by what are called "below-the-line" items, including loans to local authorities, payment of war-damage claims, and other capital expenses, and as a result last year's realized over-all surplus of $173,000,000 will be replaced by an over-all deficit of $19,600,000.

On the basis of these figures Cripps argued that there was no scope for a net remission of taxes; all he could offer was mild relief to payers of income tax offset by a stiff increase in the levy on gasoline, and the imposition of a purchase tax of 33⅓ per cent on commercial vehicles. For both these changes there were economic as well as purely fiscal reasons. The steep graduation of income-tax rates has meant that most workers have found that a very considerable slice of their overtime earnings is deducted for taxes, and this has proved a "disincentive" to extra production. Cripps now proposes to reduce by one-fifth the tax on the first $700 of taxable income —a change which will afford some relief to all taxpayers but proportionately more of those in the lower brackets. But the reduction, which will not amount to more than $33.25 annually for anyone, hardly seems enough to stem growing demands for higher wages.

A rise in the gasoline tax from 10 to 20 cents, together with the new purchase tax on trucks and buses, is obviously going to hinder road transport. But Cripps pointed out that there were now 60 per cent more commercial vehicles in use than before the war and that attempts to restrict the numbers sold on the home market had failed. Hence this tax had been decided on as a way of reducing home demand and freeing a larger share of the output of trucks and buses for export.

Government critics have suggested that the real reason for putting these new burdens on the road-transport industry is a desire to check diversion of traffic from the nationalized railroads, and undoubtedly this motive played some part in the Chancellor's decision. But whether, as it is being claimed, a sacrifice of efficiency is involved is a debatable question. In Britain as in this country the undermining of the railways by the alleged unfair competition of road transport has long been a subject of controversy. Fifteen years or so ago a Tory government took steps to check the use of trucks in the interests of the railroads, then privately owned, arguing that proper maintenance of the rail network was a national concern. Is that any less a national interest now that the railroads belong to the state?

However, the real criticism that Cripps has to meet is not concerned with such details. The business interests are much more grieved by the fact that he has not made cuts in expenditure large enough to allow for tax concessions of the kind which, they claim, are needed to spur enterprise. Some left-wing members of the Labor Party are equally upset because he has not "soaked the rich" a little more in order to provide funds for worthwhile reductions in those taxes, direct and indirect, that bear heavily on the lower-bracket incomes. Moreover, there are economists with Labor sympathies who believe that this Budget is unduly deflationary and that unless

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correctives are applied later, the upshot may be depression next winter.

Here technical matters are involved that cannot be explored in a brief editorial, but it appears to us that, allowing for the fact that some increase in wages will prove inevitable in the near future—an inflationary influence—Cripps has done well to frame his budget on rather austere lines. That seems consonant with the major objective of the Labor government—the maintenance of a stable economy affording full employment.

Dementia Unlimited

THE revolving smears of Joe McCarthy have created a state of mind which can best be termed dementia unlimited. How else can you describe a performance which sidetracks efforts to hammer out an effective foreign policy toward Russia in favor of an uproarious political circus about American communism staged with a nauseating demagogy unmatched in the Senate since Huey Long's time?

Secretary Acheson is preparing to leave for London for discussions of vast importance with the Foreign Ministers of France and Great Britain. At this moment Western Europe's faith in America is subject at once to attacks by the Communists, nationalistic fears and jealousies among the rightists, and infinite doubts among the ordinary citizens. Small wonder the Soviets should choose a time when our self-confidence seems riven by McCarthy's rantings to aim a series of diplomatic blows in the direction of Trieste, the Dardanelles, and Eastern Europe!

The technique used by Louis Budenz at last week's hearing to support McCarthy's assault on Owen Lattimore was surely one of the most remarkable in history. He had read scarcely any of Lattimore's books, he admitted, but he was sure that these books paralleled the Communist Party line on China. He charged that Lattimore as editor of *Pacific Affairs* had planted articles favorable to the party line in that magazine; but the only specific article he cited was published in the *Far Eastern Survey*, another publication of the Institute of Pacific Relations, and did not appear until two years after Lattimore had resigned as editor of *Pacific Affairs*.

Budenz, who makes speeches on the conspiratorial nature of communism whenever he is asked the simplest question, had unhappy moments as Senator Tydings tried to get a yes-or-no answer as to Budenz's personal knowledge of Lattimore's alleged communism. Finally Budenz was forced to admit that he had never seen or met Lattimore, that he had no evidence of his own, and that his "personal knowledge" came from what he had been told by others. But in the course of his testimony he revealed the remarkable logic by which he functions:

1. He believes that he himself was once high enough in the Communist Party to know its secrets.
2. He believes that leaders higher than he never lied to him about Lattimore or anyone else.
3. If Lattimore's views at any point happen to parallel the party line regarding China, that should be taken as evidence of Lattimore's guilt. But when Lattimore's record shows that he raised money for Finland in the first Russo-Finnish war and vigorously supported the Marshall Plan, that should be considered merely a cunning cover, a "dispensation."
4. If Budenz calls a man a Communist and that man sues him for libel, it is all part of a plot by Communists to accomplish an enemy's financial ruin. (If the man doesn't sue, of course McCarthy, Budenz, and company can indict him for failure to do so.)

What can be doubted about Budenz, on the basis of this fantastic chain of thinking, is whether he was important enough in the party to have been privy to the thoughts and plans of his superiors. Here is a man who for fifteen years, by the record, has been obsessed with communism—for ten years as a party member and for the past five years as a fanatical party enemy. There is no evidence in his shifting loyalties, his unflagging compulsion to beat his breast and cry *mea culpa*, that his personality would have aroused that degree of trust among party disciplinarians, to whom conspiracy and secrecy are second nature.

DEMENTIA unlimited has ruled the Senate floor as man after man has risen, in the course of the McCarthy debate, to pay the most lavish compliments to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and its director, J. Edgar Hoover, as if our democracy's ultimate security rested in the secret police. Dementia unlimited allows the Senate to sit in befuddled inaction while Nationalist China's paid lobbyists, who months ago launched their employer's attack on Secretary Acheson, go unexposed and unwhipped. Dementia unlimited makes renegade Communists and perhaps the FBI agents the only persons who can give valid testimony about American communism and its alleged threat. Simultaneously, decent people who have never been Communists are subjected to a campaign of abuse and slander, and the State Department goes almost undefended against critics whose purposes are at best political and whose methods are unspeakably foul. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, a Republican member of the Senate investigating committee, has repeatedly displayed a patrician distaste for the unclean mess McCarthy has brewed. It would be more useful if he would lead the attack against the smear campaign for the sake of restoring sanity at the earliest possible moment.

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Maytime Politics

BY ROBERT BENDINER

THE traditionally merry month of May is to be further enlivened this year by a batch of primaries that will raise the curtain on the 1950 Congressional campaign. Of the seven preliminaries scheduled for the month, the three most telling are below the Mason and Dixon line. In Alabama the fight is not over party nominees for House or Senate; it is a struggle between "loyalists" and Dixiecrats for control of the state Democratic machine. In Florida and North Carolina two of the most liberal members of the Senate are fighting not only for their own political lives but, in effect, for the emergence of the South from its long, dark era of representation by Rankins and Byrds.

On the surface the Alabama primary would appear to offer little in the way of excitement. Lister Hill is certain to be returned to the Senate, and the nine incumbent Congressmen are almost as sure of renomination. But the fight for control of the seventy-two-member State Executive Committee can have a profound effect on the next Presidential election. It was the present committee, bossed by Gassner McCorvey, that took Truman's name off the ballot in Alabama and placed the symbolic Democratic rooster over the names of Strom Thurmond and Fielding Wright. Senators Hill and Sparkman are leading the fight to return this all-powerful committee to "regular" Democrats, and to get votes they do not hesitate to make clear their own vigorous opposition to the President's civil-rights program. The Administration blandly ignores this deviation for the sake of what it considers the larger issue involved. If the Dixiecrats lose the committee, which they hold by a narrow margin, they are finished as an electoral threat not only in Alabama but throughout the South. If they win in this first real referendum on the issue, scheduled for May 2, there is no doubt that the movement will gain great impetus. In that case McCorvey will be in a position to push his grand scheme of indicating a Presidential preference, in advance of the Republican convention, which would be acceptable to the G. O. P. Informally such talk centers around Eisenhower, and it is precisely this sort of arrangement that Republican Chairman Guy Gabrielson has in mind when he speaks of a "trial marriage" with the Southern fugitives from the Democratic Party.

NORTH CAROLINA and Florida offer primaries of more obvious drama. The struggle between Claude Pepper and his erstwhile protégé, George A. Smathers, has reached depths of vituperation and downright asinity rarely achieved even in American political campaigns. Smathers is a young, good-looking opportunist who launched his political career as a liberal. In his successful campaign for the House in 1946 he solicited C. I. O. support and went far out of his way to speak for a labor candidate in a Pennsylvania district. But Smathers is a man in a hurry who saw in Pepper's early flirtations with the Wallace crowd a chance to exploit the current anti-Russian fever and grab his mentor's seat in the Senate.

To make this quick killing, Smathers has found it expedient to shed every drop of liberalism he may have had—in the House he was a middle-of-the-roader—and to concentrate fiercely and eloquently on Pepper's alleged fondness for Russians, Communists, and Negroes. FEPC, he warns his listeners, would compel Baptist churches to hire atheist organ-players as long as they could get the same musical effects as other applicants. And the grave charge that he is not a true Southerner, having moved from Atlantic City to Miami when he was six, he refutes by pointing out that, unlike his Harvard-educated rival, he went to the University of Florida. "Felix Frankfurter had nothing to do with my education," he is fond of saying. "Alger Hiss is no classmate of mine." This is the Smathers campaign at its upper level. He is unsparing in his attacks on much of the Administration program, tracing the public-health bill back to Lenin, and dedicating himself, in clouds of oratorical vapor, to the protection of the American dollar.

Senator Pepper, himself one of the shrewdest stump orators in the land, has damned his opponent as a du Pont hireling, running with none too secret Republican support. Not only is some G. O. P. money supposedly backing Smathers, but he is definitely counting on thousands of Republicans to come over to the Democratic camp this year with the express purpose of strengthening him in the primary. This is a campaign point in Pepper's favor, but the veteran New Dealer is obviously on the defensive. Sure he talked to Stalin in an effort to bring peace to the world, he says, but "I also stood in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem and knelt in humble reverence before Joseph's new tomb where Christ's body was laid." And he never lets his audience forget that his ancestors lie in the "red clay hills of Alabama."

With the major Florida dailies against him by a score of thirty-eight to two, Pepper needs all the resources he can muster. Fortunately these are considerable. He has been an extremely vigorous servant to his

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constituents, and large sectors of the business community are for him on the basis of past favors and favors to come. He is passionately courting the middle-aged and old-age groups, particularly large in Florida, by embracing Townsendism. He is sure to get the bulk of the Negro vote, which is expected to show an increase of twenty to forty thousand over the last election, and of the labor vote as well. And he has brought Florida more national prestige than it is accustomed to getting by way of its representatives.

The significance of the Florida contest is not lost on Administration and party leaders. The President has maintained a strict silence, but it is believed that he fully appreciates the consequences of a Smathers victory. Not only has the Representative committed himself to fight the Truman program, but he has waged his campaign so blatantly along McCarthy lines that, if successful, it is bound to be used as a model by Republican and conservative Democrats throughout the country. All of which should be more than enough to offset the President's pique over Pepper's preference for Eisenhower, Douglas, or even Pepper to Harry S. Truman as the party's standard-bearer two years ago.

IF THE North Carolina primary is less colorful than Florida's, it is scarcely less important. Since it was fully described by Tom Schlesinger in the last issue of this magazine, I will not go over the details. While it is somewhat more difficult to conduct an effective campaign against Dr. Frank Graham along the primitive lines of Smathers's barrage against Pepper—so solidly based is the Senator's reputation in the state—the McCarthy technique is nevertheless being tried. One of Graham's two opponents, Bob Reynolds, is cut out for this type of campaigning and indeed for no other. The hope is that Reynolds, too disreputable to be a likely winner in his own right, will draw votes from Willis Smith, Graham's more formidable rival. A stuffy, colorless conservative, Smith appeals to business men who fear Graham's politics and to those farmers who can't stomach the transparent demagoguery of Reynolds. A defeat for Graham would not only be a stunning blow to the Administration but would strengthen the Republican conviction that "Liberty or Socialism" is the slogan the country has been waiting for.

OF THE four Northern primaries listed for May, Ohio's Democratic contest is easily the most far-reaching. Indiana merely elects delegates to a convention, which in turn will name party candidates for state-wide office later in the season. The battle there will be for the choice of a Democrat to stand against the ineffable Senator Capehart.

From a liberal point of view some of the juice has gone out of the Oregon Democratic primary with the elimination of Monroe Sweetland and Richard Neuberger as candidates for United States Senator and Governor respectively. Sweetland, who has done a heroic job revitalizing the Democratic Party in a traditionally Republican state, feels that party officials should not run for office; Neuberger, a state senator and frequent contributor to *The Nation*, has declined for personal reasons to make the race, which is unfortunate in view of his enormous popularity. State Senator Austin Flegel, a leading proponent of a Columbia Valley Authority, is now the liberals' best bet for the gubernatorial nomination, and Louis A. Wood, a retired university teacher and militant liberal, for the difficult task of opposing Wayne Morse for the Senate.

In Pennsylvania the only significant battle will be for the Republican senatorial nomination. There is little to quicken the spirits of a liberal in the choice between the two contenders. John C. Kunkel is a veteran member of the House with a thoroughly undistinguished record of McKinley Republicanism. Governor Duff is what passes for a maverick in Pennsylvania G. O. P. circles, but he hardly endeared himself to labor when he told the Philadelphia *Bulletin* Forum a few months ago that "a vast number of people who are on relief [are] loafers that want to live on the work that everybody else is doing." A defeat for Kunkel might well finish the Grundy machine, one of the worst in the country, but there is no doubt that Duff would be a more formidable opponent to Francis J. Meyers, now majority whip in the Senate and one of the President's most trusted legislative lieutenants.

THE choice that should have been most carefully worked out by the Democratic high command and has instead been appallingly bungled is that of the candidate to oppose Robert A. Taft in Ohio. So prolonged and Hamlet-like was Murray Lincoln's flirtation with the nomination that when the cooperative farm leader finally withdrew, it was too late for another independent of stature to overcome the lead of the professional politicians. Of the three principal candidates now in the field, Professor Henry M. Busch is easily the most qualified and impressive. But, new to politics, he is virtually unknown in many parts of the state, and realistic observers think it would take a miracle to give him even second rank among the contenders. Michael DiSalle, the Mayor of Toledo, is thought to be the man who will give such battle as there is to State Auditor Joseph Ferguson, the odds-on favorite. Ferguson, a hand-shaking ward politician with a broad smile and narrow vision, has been feverishly building a loyal organization for himself in every county courthouse in the state. There is little doubt that as a Senator he would go down the line for the Administration, and, coming from a family steeped in the traditions of the United Mine Workers,

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he would be as pro-labor as they come. But it is none the less painful that in the one state where Taft's Presidential ambitions must be headed off, hope rests on a man who, asked for an opinion on Formosa, is said to have replied, "Don't worry, I carried it by 20,000 votes last time." If the story isn't accurate, it is all too typical. Yet labor and independent liberal groups will swallow their pride and back little Joe to the hilt if he is nominated. Gone is the disposition to treat Taft as a noble conservative since that "man of integrity" advised Joe McCarthy to "bring up one case and if that doesn't work out, bring up another." Taft is viewed now as a man made dangerous by ambition. If Ferguson is fate's chosen instrument for checking him, then so be it.

Why "Operation Dixie" Failed

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, April 20

IS THE Taft-Hartley act an instrument for "equalizing" the rights and duties of management and labor, or is it one which enables management to violate the theoretically guaranteed rights of workers? A Senate labor subcommittee is planning field hearings in Rome, Georgia, and Anderson, South Carolina, for some time in the near future to seek a partial answer to this question. The subcommittee is expected to concentrate on the situation of Southern textile workers. If it digs up the facts, it will find that the passage of Taft-Hartley intensified the resistance to collective bargaining among Southern industrialists and Northern absentee owners of Southern mills. It will uncover a pattern of coercion, illegal firings, local injunctions against picketing, organization of anti-union citizens' committees, and protracted delays in bargaining which has decimated union membership among the South's 600,000 textile workers.

Textiles are the South's largest industry. Industrial relations throughout the area are determined by conditions in textiles. The C. I. O., it was recently revealed, has poured "at least" $6,000,000 to $8,000,000 into its famed "Operation Dixie"—the organization of unorganized Southern workers. Not all this money has been spent in the mill towns, but a substantial portion of it has. Despite this tremendous effort, membership in the C. I. O. Textile Workers' Union of America has dropped from perhaps 25,000 to something less than 20,000. The A. F. of L. United Textile Workers is no larger. Since passage of the Taft-Hartley act over President Truman's veto, a number of once functioning locals have been smashed.

Some Taft-Hartley supporters say the C. I. O.'s failure is explained by the "simple fact" that Southern textile mill hands "don't want unions." But if this were so, employers would not need to oppose union organization. They would not need to allow threats and hints to leak out that mills would be closed or moved if a union were voted in. Local police officials and other municipal authorities would not feel obliged to harass the unions; threats of eviction would not be held over the heads of workers living in company-owned houses. If the mill hands "don't want unions," why did they carry on a succession of strikes lasting from a few weeks to nearly two years in the fight for recognition and contracts? How did the T. W. U. A. manage to win twenty-eight of the first twenty-nine union-shop elections held under the Taft-Hartley law in plants where it is strongly established? Why did the legislatures of Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia feel moved to pass laws going beyond Taft-Hartley to forbid union shops completely?

Some effects of Taft-Hartley, in point of fact, can be easily measured. In the two years before the statute was passed, the T. W. U. A. won seventy-six representation elections covering 22,872 workers. In the two following years it won only twenty-eight elections covering 5,104 workers. In the two years before Taft-Hartley, there were thirty-seven strikes, twenty of which were organizational —that is, for the purpose of obtaining recognition of new locals; twenty strikes were settled by negotiated agreements. In the first two years that the law was in force nineteen of twenty-six strikes arose out of the efforts of already established unions to renew contracts, and only twelve of the twenty-six were settled by negotiation.

It is true that the National Labor Relations Board is still in existence to "guarantee" the rights of workers to free organization and collective bargaining. But its processes are slow, and many a local union has died while the board and the courts solemnly meditated on the haggling objections of skilled company lawyers. NLRB records contain documentary evidence of this.

In February, 1947, before the passage of Taft-Hartley, the T. W. U. A. filed charges of unfair labor practices against the Bibb Manufacturing Company in mills at Porterdale and Macon, Georgia. Not until two years later—in March, 1949—did the NLRB make its final ruling. The company was found guilty of circulating among its employees an anti-union paper called the *Trumpet* which encouraged violence against union "pole-

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cats," stirred up racial feeling, and urged workers to keep the C. I. O. out of the South. In Porterdale, described as a town in which the company "owned every building," the board declared that an augmented police force began to trail organizers and spy on union operations as soon as the C. I. O. began its work. The police were controlled by a mayor who also acted as agent for company-owned houses and habitually used the officers to serve eviction notices. The board ordered the company to cease and desist, and to reinstate four former employees fired for union activity. What has happened since then? The case is pending before the Appellate Court for a compliance order, and the union still has no contract. Meanwhile the local at the Bibb plant in Macon has died.

DOZENS of similar cases could be cited. They often stem from conditions in pre-Taft-Hartley days, but the position of the workers has changed substantially. For one thing, the intellectual and moral climate is different. Although Taft-Hartley ostensibly continued Wagner act guaranties, it was interpreted by many mill operators as a sign of Congressional hostility to unions. Local officials and courts, and sometimes the workers themselves, took the same view. After passage of the Wagner act workers in the steel and coal fields of the North felt confident that "President Roosevelt wanted them to join the union"; exactly an opposite feeling was created in the South by Taft-Hartley.

At the Fulton Bag Company plant in Dallas, Texas, the T. W. U. A. was certified as bargaining agent as long ago as December, 1943. The company fought it through the NLRB, the War Labor Board, and the United States Conciliation Service; no contract was signed; and after 1947 the local disintegrated. Union officials say workers felt the force of the argument that if they couldn't get a contract under the Wagner act, they were not likely to under Taft-Hartley.

In Anderson, South Carolina, as soon as a T. W. U. A. organizing campaign began last November, a citizens' committee, instigated, a union spokesman says, by a local business man, came into being to oppose it. Workers could exercise their right to organize only under the shadow of community disapproval.

State courts have become quick to issue injunctions reminiscent of the legal prohibitions handed down more than a quarter of a century ago before the Norris-LaGuardia act was passed. In Rome, Georgia, eight workers went to jail last January despite the fact that the strike during which they were enjoined was settled, on wage terms favorable to the union, more than a year earlier. When the T. W. U. A. wins a representation election, the local newspaper often carries a story about the "danger" that the mill will be closed down by its "customers."

Employers and company lawyers have acquired great skill in making use of Taft-Hartley to oppose new unions and disestablish old ones. Employers, under the law, are guaranteed "free speech." So they are permitted to call the workers together, in groups or as a whole, and spell out their opposition to unionization on company time and on company property. When the organizers in the Southern mill towns want to talk to the men or the workers want to discuss their own affairs, they frequently find that no meeting place is available.

Company lawyers have discovered that a charge of unfair labor practices may halt NLRB proceedings toward an election to determine whether the employees want a union. So on the eve of an election they suggest to the company that it fire a few active union members and provoke charges. Later the employer may admit that the firings were illegal and reinstate the workers with back pay. He has succeeded, however, in postponing the election and hence the necessity of a bargaining conference.

Another weapon provided by Taft-Hartley is the decertification election. A demand for one must be filed by employees, but it may be sought by a small group currying favor with management. In one case on record the T. W. U. A. won an NLRB election in 1945, was upheld in a Supreme Court decision in 1949, and then was promptly faced with a Taft-Hartley decertification election. The workers turned out and voted for the union again, but they still have no contract.

More and more frequently company lawyers demand "responsibility" clauses in T. W. U. A. contracts under which the union treasury will be subject to attack in the event of a strike. The union obviously cannot accept such clauses; its treasury could be eaten away as a result of strikes deliberately provoked by the company—for example, through speed-ups. Encouraged by Taft-Hartley, the lawyers persist in their demand, and a local which finally quits work in desperation may find itself embroiled in a dangerous showdown. More than one T. W. U. A. local has been smashed in that way under our "unbiased" labor law.

The "watch-dog" committees of Congress have done precious little, in nearly three years, to discover how the law actually works. A House subcommittee got part of the picture last November in Atlanta; the Senate subcommittee can paint in other facts when it begins to hold hearings. A general proposition, however, can already be stated: the Wagner act never really took root in the South as it did in the Northern coal, steel, and automobile industries; thus the Taft-Hartley act was able to weaken the slowly developing union consciousness of Southern workers with moral and legal blows. Organization of Northern industries came slowly and bloodily—through more than half a century. Is that the way Congress wants organization to come in the South?

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DANGEROUS THOUGHTS

The American, 1950

WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE TRUMAN CHANCES FOR '52?
HOW ABOUT DEWEY? ---------- THOMAS DEWEY?
DO YOU THINK OUR POLICIES WILL WIN THE COLD WAR?
WHAT ABOUT FLYING SAUCERS --- ARE THEY SECRET WEAPONS OR FROM OUTER SPACE?
WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY RIGHT NOW? -----
---WELL --- THEN THE REPUBLICANS?--
--SENATOR JOE McCARTHY?
HOW ABOUT THIS PRESENT SPY HYSTERIA ---?
IS IT HURTING OUR CIVIL LIBERTIES? HOW ABOUT THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS?
DO YOU FEEL STALIN WILL GO TO WAR, OR ---- WHAT--- YOU'RE STILL THINKING OVER THE LAST QUESTION?
WHAT DO YOU THINK OF OUR PRESENT PEACE EFFORTS?
WELL ---YOU MUST BE ENCOURAGED BY OUR DYNAMIC NEW ROLE OF WORLD LEADER? ---

THE OBSERVER

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The Road to Hell

BY CAROLUS

Frankfurt, April 18

THERE is little to say about Germany that readers of *The Nation* do not already know. Political and economic developments in the Federal Republic have been amply described, and deplored, in these pages. The only thing to add is that their bitter fruits have ripened faster than the most pessimistic observer could have foreseen.

At the root of the evil is the conflict between East and West, with its fatal effect upon the German policy of the United States and the other Western Allies. From month to month it becomes plainer that the cold war has consumed all the ideals in whose name the peoples of the world were called upon to slay the Nazi dragon.

Has the purpose of the Allied occupation been accomplished: has a better Germany been created out of the ruins of Hitler's thousand-year Reich? Are reeducation, denazification, democratization, demilitarization more than high-sounding words? Have they brought anything but disappointed hopes, broken promises, shattered illusions? Eisenhower's crusade against Prussian militarism has ended with the Allies themselves being infected with the German poison. It was Germany's sin and Germany's misfortune that the nation's historical evolution led it to make power its god, to think only in figures, to value only machines and battalions. Both the people and their rulers forgot that men are needed to tend the machines, that the living spirit of man decides finally what has worth and meaning. The tragedy of our time is that the victors of 1945, on both sides of the iron curtain, have fallen into the evil ways which brought Germany to disaster.

Now as always the road to hell is paved with fine speeches. On April 4 John J. McCloy spoke on the problem of Germany at the famous Pilgrims' Dinner in London. Field Marshal Montgomery and the cream of English society were present and heard the American High Commissioner say:

> All of us want to prevent Germany from again becoming a menace. In seeking to attain this goal we have been following two main roads; first, to prohibit institutions and activities dangerous to peace; second, to encourage a truly democratic society. On the first point, in the interest of security, our fixed policy has been to impose and maintain effective controls against the revival of a German war machine. This we intend to do until the evidence convinces us that the progressive forces have strongly established themselves in the political and economic life of Germany.

To take up Mr. McCloy's second point first, how hard have the Allies tried to "encourage a truly democratic society" in West Germany? The truth is that the sinister financial interests which were directly responsible for the First World War, the Nazi regime, and the Second World War are again in the saddle. And my readers need only leaf through back numbers of *The Nation* to learn with whose effective help the Herren Krupp, Stinnes, Thyssen, Klöckner, and Mannesmann, together with their bankers and political henchmen, have returned to power. Who blocked the nationalization of key industries and thus crushed the first stirrings of German democracy? Who maintained an economic system that guarantees shameless profits to industry and poverty, exploitation, and unemployment to workers? Does not McCloy know it was the occupying powers?

Are not more than 80 per cent of the judges and state attorneys the very Nazis who held office under the Third Reich? Do they not acquit one proved S. S. murderer after another, in defiance of the American authorities and even of McCloy himself? Are not 60 or 70 per cent of all civil servants and teachers former Nazis whitewashed by the courts? How many of Hitler's high officials now fill important posts in the Bonn government? How many former Nazis are drawing government pensions while the victims of Nazi persecution, the survivors of concentration camps, the few remaining Jews, have not even got back the property that was stolen from them? No attention is paid to the protests of the trade unions and the Social Democrats against the growing economic and political neo-fascism, against the shocking perversions of justice, against the terror that has again raised its head in some parts of the country. It seems that the less said the better about the efforts of the Allies to "encourage a truly democratic society."

As to Mr. McCloy's first point, if the progressive forces of West Germany were actually "strongly establishing themselves in the political and economic life," there would be no fear, today or tomorrow, of a "revival of the German war machine." With conditions as they are, the whole European press is discussing German rearmament. In spite of the strong stand against it which he had taken earlier, the Chancellor of the Federal Republic reopened the subject and, not without embarrassment, came out for remilitarizing Germany under the guise of having it "contribute to the defense of

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Western Europe against the East." In France his words were echoed by General de Gaulle. In England, in a speech in the House of Commons, Winston Churchill advocated the raising and equipping of German divisions to help hold the line against Russia. McCloy at the Pilgrims' Dinner did not reject this proposal but spoke of maintaining control "until the progressive forces have strongly established themselves." And who is to decide when that point has been reached—De Gaulle, Churchill, and McCloy?

IN THE rest of his speech McCloy showed a considerable measure of agreement with those who cannot sleep until they know that Western Europe is guarded by German troops.

> Any discussion of Germany must deal with the split between the East and the West. . . . The need for a united Europe is made more urgent by the threat from the East. . . . We cannot solve the German problem without fitting it into the context of a United Europe. . . . No permanent solution seems possible without an effective, strong European union and community.

The conservative English weekly *Time and Tide*, commenting on Churchill's speech, said:

> If the government does agree that Europe is incomplete without Germany and that Germany must learn to exist within the framework of a free and United Europe, then it must accept the corollary of a Germany with the right to control her own foreign policy and the right to limited rearmament.

That lets the cat out of the bag. Whether the words are those of McCloy or Churchill, Adenauer or De Gaulle, Montgomery or Clay, the meaning is the same. Western Europe must be united against the menace of the East. There can be no united Western Europe without Germany, or rather West Germany, and no West Germany without a united Europe. This united Europe must have a European army, including German divisions.

Herr Adenauer and his big-business backers already have a general staff—the "Brotherhood of German Generals." The head of this organization modestly calls himself an "employee" of the Cologne banker Pferdemenge. Herr Pferdemenge, a deputy in the Bonn Parliament and one of Adenauer's advisers, is chairman of the board of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke, whose efforts to form a Continental coal-and-steel trust, in conjunction with the French Comité des Forges, have so far been prevented by the London Foreign Office. The Brotherhood of Generals, incidentally, has received large sums from Nazis in Argentina and from Franco.

Readers of *The Nation* know from my previous articles how the German people feel about "contributing to the defense of Western Europe." To refresh their memory I will quote Professor Wilhelm Röpke writing in *Time and Tide* of April 1:

> The German attitude toward rearmament has been strangely misrepresented abroad, so as to give the impression that the Germans are eager for it. In reality the average German intensely dislikes the idea of going soldiering again. . . . I know the editor of one of the most widely read German papers who lost thousands of subscribers because he broached the question of some measure of rearmament as a protection against a Russian invasion.

The overwhelming majority of West Germans are as much against a revival of militarism in any form as the East Germans are against the Russian-Communist dictatorship. In both parts of the country economic and political power is in the hands of faithless men whose purposes are diametrically opposed to the will of the people but who are upheld by the occupying power. Those who resist in the east can only flee to the west. In the west neo-fascist organizations are riding high, tolerated if not fostered by the occupation authorities because they are anti-Communist. These groups find it easy to recruit members among the unemployed and the refugees.

From their ranks will come the soldiers for the German divisions demanded by Churchill, De Gaulle, and Adenauer. They will be mercenary soldiers, ready for any adventure, and will be commanded by former Nazi generals. In the army that is to hold the line for the West acquitted S. S. murderers will be comrades-in-arms of the sons of Frenchmen, Belgians, Hollanders, and Scandinavians who died in German concentration camps or were shot as hostages. What will be the effect on the French, the Belgians, the Dutch, and the others?

And how will the Poles and the Czechs react to the formation of these German divisions? Germans are far from resigned to the loss of their eastern provinces. In fact, the nationalistic right in the Bonn Parliament demands that the boundaries of 1938 be restored and even claims the Sudeten region. If the German divisions of a European army threaten the present frontiers, every last Pole and Czech will cling fast to Russia whether Stalin or the devil is in the Kremlin. Titoism will not have the ghost of a chance, anywhere.

The revival first of Nazism and then of militarism in West Germany is the ineluctable consequence of the cold war. That this West Germany will be of little real worth to Europe was indicated recently by the anti-Communist Dr. Kurt Schumacher, in an interview printed in the *Rheinische Zeitung* on April 7:

> If there are some [he said] who do not want a united Germany, they are not true Europeans. Whoever contends that half of Germany can become a member of the European community does not want a united Europe but a privileged position for his own country at Europe's expense.

It has not yet been settled on which side the German divisions would fight in a war between East and West.

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From Two Worlds to One

BY RAYMOND SWING

NO ONE satisfied that power is the only basis for keeping world peace should find much fault with the thinking of Secretary Acheson and the present purposes of the State Department. They produce a straightforward policy of "creating situations of strength to replace situations of weakness," doing it not to promote American national interests but only to make the United States and its friends physically safe. This is the epitome of Secretary Acheson's remarkable pronouncement on policy toward the Soviet Union of February 6.

But this formula, however satisfying it may be to believers in the doctrine of peace by strength, is sure to be disquieting to others. "War," said Mr. Acheson, "cannot accomplish the purposes of a democracy. It can only make the accomplishments of that democracy more difficult, and therefore with a democracy war can be resorted to only when it becomes necessary to protect the physical side of the state or system of states to which it belongs." He illustrated this principle by reference to Pearl Harbor.

If we still lived in that bygone age we might honestly believe we still could, by war, protect "the physical side of the state." For World War II, which we entered after Pearl Harbor, did not destroy American civilians or civilian areas, and unthinking Americans can continue to believe that military strength can protect "the physical side of the state." Former Air Secretary Symington knows better and has warned Americans that no part of the United States is safe from atomic attack in the event of war with Russia. And the destructiveness of atomic attack is entering a new stage of sensational development. The basic nature of war has changed since Pearl Harbor. It no longer can assure the safety of a peaceful people or their installations; all it can do is to bid for a semi-disastrous victory by destroying more of the enemy than the enemy can destroy of us. Hence a policy to assure physical safety by "building up situations of strength to replace situations of weakness" can succeed only if the strength is not put to the test. Mr. Acheson speaks as though his formula were unanswerably factual. But since he assumes that war *can* protect the physical side of the state, which is not a fact, his policy is at least dangerously incomplete.

The tragedy of contemporary statesmanship is that it has experience only with policies resting finally on national power. It knows no other procedure, approach, or language. But now that the nature of national power has changed, there must be new procedure, a new approach, and a new language.

Those who realize this are nevertheless likely to feel paralyzed. They can well conceive of a world of law in which the possession of major weapons is denied all national states, and international courts and police administer world law for security against individuals without resort to war. But having conceived it, they find themselves baffled to know how to achieve it. Disarmament is not enough. There must be peaceful but adequate procedures by which disarmament is enforced and the observance of peace is carried through. This is impossible without government. And yet they know that world government can only be introduced by a voluntary surrender to it of national military power, a surrender that must be made simultaneously by all nations, in an atmosphere of confidence and faith. Could anything seem more unattainable in a world in which the decision to develop the hydrogen bomb has been accepted by a good part of the "civilized" world?

Until the achievement of a world of law is far along, Mr. Acheson's provision of even partial physical safety through strength must continue. As long as there is no world law, as long as the armament race is on and still more devastating atomic weapons can be developed, the Acheson policy as such is not wrong. One might even say it is inevitable. There can be criticisms galore of the ineffective administration of our power policies. There cannot, however, be criticisms of our having power policies as long as we live in a world of power.

The trouble with Mr. Acheson's policy is that it goes only halfway. It surrenders to the difficulty of making the transition to a world of law. By omission it condemns his country and the world to remain imprisoned within the power system at a time when this system has ceased to provide the physical safety he seeks. A courageous nation facing the fact of the ineffectiveness of defense, would indorse a search for the pathway of transition.

The first objective of this search should be to find some way out of the power system before it destroys us. The ultimate objective should be to build and cooperate with a system of enforceable world law, since that alone can abolish war and so assure security. Power policy should occupy only a subordinate and temporary place in State Department thinking.

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But perhaps it needs to be said emphatically, before going farther, that the search for the pathway to limited world government cannot begin with any unilateral disarmament or any one-sided surrender of power or sovereignty. The Russians for their part would not consent to it; neither should we. Achieving a world of law is preeminently a practical process, which can be accomplished only after profound study, wide discussion, and full agreement among nations as equals. A vast and no doubt tedious work of preparation must be done, and while it is in progress the world still would continue to be dominated by power considerations.

So what is needed is two policies—one of power, one of exploration. For the part of power Mr. Acheson's formula will do quite well, being the traditional theory of world relations. But there must be added to it a line of action rising from the awareness that the traditional doctrine has become catastrophically dangerous. A sequence of acts must be set up that will, if successfully carried through, bring us within hail of world government. To set this train going should become the main preoccupation of the State Department; that is, the State Department must be as obsessed with strengthening world opinion for peace through law as it is with bolstering up the bulwarks against communism, writing defense pacts, and providing arms to friendly nations. Its foreign representatives should crusade for world peace with the same enthusiasm with which they now crusade against the power maneuvers of the Soviet bloc. The Voice of America should be flooding the world with reports of discussions of the problems of a world government. It should be able to quote President Truman, Secretary Acheson, and leading Congressmen and commentators as widely as it now spreads their ominous and disheartening anti-Russian tirades and their anachronistic thinking about power. The world should be convinced that the hydrogen bomb, and the fifteen-billion-dollar defense budgets, and the foreign-based B-36's, and other items of power politics are not the end of American wisdom but only an interim policy reluctantly pursued. It should see that we are taking the lead in winning the world to a new cooperative attempt to save humanity from destruction.

The State Department is quite capable of conducting this crusade, the start of which would be one of the critical moments in the whole procedure of achieving world government. For a demonstration of American sincerity and determination will be needed to convince a skeptical world about our moral stature. Many people believe that no moral world relationship can be built up because Americans themselves have given up working for it, being resigned to the inevitability of conflict with the Soviet bloc. Still more will be skeptical about obtaining Soviet collaboration in establishing a new world regime. Until they see a crusading America they will not even glimpse that a world settlement is possible.

Once the crusade is launched, the time will come for precise diplomatic steps, of which two are of utmost importance. One is to enlist support within the United Nations for the amendment of the Charter; the other is to approach the Soviet Union with a proposal for negotiating the outstanding issues of the cold war.

THE campaign within the United Nations should offer only minor difficulties. All nations not now possessing military power will be in favor of a system in which the great nations are stripped of it, and their chief concern will be to make sure the system works and the surrenders of power are genuine. The small nations will not be reluctant to strengthen the U. N. In a world government the small countries and their men of merit will have their innings.

Undoubtedly talks will develop about the over-all

"I FEEL SURE I WON'T HAVE ANY BETTER LUCK IN THIS UNIFORM"
Any further Approach to Moscow
Hints to Moscow
Message to Moscow
W. GERMAN RE-ARMAMENT

PEACE, THE MESSENGER

London *Daily Herald*

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federation of coexisting regional federations and their place in the strengthened structure. Latin America, Europe, the Atlantic community itself might be working on plans for regional regimes that reduce the intricacy of the central operation of a federation and lessen the danger of its being given an unwieldy responsibility. One can foresee a disconcerting number of secondary and confusing problems rising from the main discussion. But it is high time to launch these talks, to set minds to working, to bring ideas out into the clear and test them in debate. Then when the time comes for definitive Charter revision the basic thinking will already have been done.

Thus Charter revision needs an incubating period like Dumbarton Oaks, though perhaps something much more informal. Afterward can come the San Francisco period for final shaping and adoption of the revised Charter. The State Department, in preparing for Western Hemisphere pacts, has developed techniques for such preliminary soundings. With some strengthening of personnel it could inspire and guide world-wide preparatory study of Charter revision.

This presupposes, however, some essential home work in the State Department itself and in the Senate and House. Entering a world government will require constitutional authorization, and changes in the Constitution should be formulated and put into the hopper of national and state legislatures. The start made by the California resolution to amend the Constitution should be examined to see if it meets the ultimate requirements. Then the whole vigor of the Administration should be put into obtaining the needed changes.

Finally a tentative outline, at least, should be drawn up of the kind of world government the United States is prepared to submit to its U. N. colleagues as basis for discussion. The State Department has had a departmental committee at work for six months studying the various plans for world federation brought in by private citizens. So far it has done no more than sort out what it considers the main questions to be considered in making a choice, and has not tried to answer any of them. Before there can be a world crusade the questions must be answered, not finally of course, but with all the pioneering and initiative shown, shall we say, in making the atomic bomb. Just how much sovereignty is to be surrendered to the world regime? What kind of governmental framework should be built on U. N. foundations? How shall the new world government be chosen; how shall it operate? What guaranties are needed to protect minorities? How shall the world police force be recruited, where shall it be stationed, how shall it be held within the bounds of a limited federal world government?

Such questions are infinite in number, but the main ones stand out and must be met head-on. Here is work for an interdepartmental committee perhaps, or a commission of Administration officials, members of Congress, and leading citizens, sitting down with full encouragement to produce a bold report.

THESE great steps within the United States and the United Nations will obviously be valueless without the additional step of bringing the cold war to an end. Otherwise the Soviet Union can be expected to veto any action. Here one is entitled to ask how far along the Western powers are in formulating just what they would want in a world settlement with the Soviet Union. The question is legitimate in view of the fact that the Berlin blockade might have been lifted months earlier had the Western powers been able to agree among themselves on what they wanted in the negotiations, and in West Germany. (This is true despite Mr. Acheson's reference to the Berlin blockade as an instance in which a situation of weakness was supplanted by one of strength.) The question is appropriate because the cold war, the policy of containment, replacing situations of weakness with situations of strength, or whatever one calls the power policy of the United States, is not a positive, constructive policy. It unites certain disparate interests against something—the expansion of Communist power. It is a negative, resisting policy. Its service to the world is limited. All it can hope to accomplish is to prevent Communist conquest. For all the talk of President Truman's Point Four program, the American policy falls far short of assuring the great progressive reforms in the backward areas of the world which will so raise their standards of living that they will naturally stand on the side of the West.

Such a negative policy makes negotiations with the Soviet Union awkward. If what is sought is to keep Communist power out of certain regions, and if this is to be negotiated, there must be willingness to acknowledge Communist power in regions where it already is established. As Americans are now taught to think by their own propaganda, any implicit recognition of the right of Communist governments to exist within certain regions would be appeasement, and many would think war preferable.

Before we can negotiate with the Soviet Union at all we may have to reexamine our basic ideas. Are we interested first and last in the threat of communism, the idea, the dogma, the system? Or primarily in the rise of a rival and distasteful system that can threaten our political and physical safety? If we are not to be satisfied with less than extinguishing communism we might as well admit there can be no negotiations, no negotiated settlement, hence no peace between equals based on enforceable law. There can only be permanent crisis, which is bound to end with a Third World War.

If, however, we shall be satisfied with halting the ad-

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vance of certain rival powers, and understand that to get this we must recognize their right to rule in regions where they are already established, a settlement should not be impossible, with all that might follow in its train. If the Soviet bloc has legitimate interests which we can define and acknowledge, it should be possible to induce the Soviet bloc to recognize our legitimate interests. But first we must define what we are willing to acknowledge, as well as what we must get recognized. At present the State Department probably could do neither. Certainly the Western powers as a family of states could not. Russia has not yet been approached with an eye on a possible settlement by mutual accommodation—the only way international problems ever are settled without war. It is all very well for Mr. Acheson or Secretary Bevin to say the door is always open to an understanding with Russia. The fact is that though the door may be open, the minds are not.

Before the cold war can end and effective work can be done to establish a world peace system, the minds will have to open. This does not mean that, in return for recognition of our interests, we must concede to the Soviet system more than we honestly believe it to be in our interest to do. It means that we must know precisely what we want, in terms of regions, peoples, lands, resources, trade, and precisely what we think the Soviet countries are entitled to. After thinking these things through for ourselves, we must sit down with our friends and hammer out a coalition policy. Then, and only then, can we sit down with the Soviet Union and at last talk clearly about problems utterly beyond reach of discussion today, like Germany, Japan, Korea, and Iranian oil. If in these talks we demonstrate a sober recognition of Soviet interests as well as of our own, we may be able for the first time to arouse a spirit of accommodation in the Soviet government on questions of atomic control, limitation of armaments, and the establishment of a supra-national security regime with full powers of inspection and enforcement.

Perhaps we shall find no spirit of accommodation in the Russians. But that eventuality has been foreseen in the two parts of our foreign policy, one part only being assigned to exploration. The other part would have attended to the maintenance of power. If the exploration leads at last into the swamp, nothing will have been lost but faith and hope, resources we need, but whose very expenditure is never a waste and always an inspiration. We still shall have our power, and if the Soviet Union has been so blind as not to recognize a new fact, the reality of an invitation to live in a world of good-will and fairness, we shall not be one whit the weaker for it. Indeed, we shall be stronger in having the support and thanks of the entire non-Soviet world, and perhaps the envy of most voiceless Soviet peoples as well. We shall have regained the moral ascendancy lost with the defeat of Woodrow Wilson, rewon for a time by Franklin D. Roosevelt, and since lost. Then if world catastrophe follows, we can know we have striven against it without stupidity or fear.

But it is not a foregone conclusion that Russia will be blind to its own interests. It may be too much to hope for immediate concurrence, for full cooperation in drafting a revised U. N. Charter and then for quick ratification. But if Russia rejects the plan the first time, it can be offered again and again and again. Our power will not have been whittled away. And the great thing is to be offering the Soviet Union a place in a world of justice and law, doing it with faith and sincerity. As long as it is being offered, the Russians can be sure, as they are not now, that the West is not planning to attack them. While it is being offered, we can be almost as sure that the Russians will not attack the West. So the whole world would consider a period of such notable negotiations a blessed recess from the grim hatreds and dangers of the cold war. True, it would be a season of staggering perplexities, and such negotiations would be prey to all the misrepresentation that vituperative

LOOKING BACKWARD

Twenty-five Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE power of judges to fine and imprison persons for contempt of court without trial by jury is one which, as our readers are aware, we believe should be restricted, if not altogether abolished. The power has been used increasingly within recent years until it promises to become a most dangerous weapon for the suppression of freedom of criticism as well as of action. We are glad, therefore, to see the Iowa Supreme Court voluntarily limiting the use of this process. Some time ago Judge Hume of Des Moines sentenced a man for contempt because of an article in the Des Moines *News*. The article criticized the judge's decisions not because of their content but because of what was asserted to be their unjudicial and ridiculous diction. In overruling Judge Hume the Supreme Court made this excellent comment:

> The power to punish for contempt is a trust imposed in the courts not to protect the individual judge but the people whose laws they interpret and whose authority they exercise. . . . So long as published criticism does not impede the due administration of law, it were better that we maintain the guaranty of our constitution (freedom of speech and press) than undertake to compel respect, to punish libel by the summary process of attachment for contempt. . . . It is not thus that an intelligent and independent court will attempt to secure public confidence . . . and the statutory limitation of this power rather than its enlargement tends to strengthen the judiciary and attach it to the affections and esteem of the people.

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bigotry is capable of, coming from both camps. But the search for peace through moral as well as physical means would elevate the world struggle to a level above the barbarity, cruelty, ruthlessness, and all the other loveless attributes of the present power conflict.

One need not doubt that President Truman and Secretary Acheson yearn for such a season of search, with its hope, its spiritual regeneration, and its heightened security. They know better than most to what extent the West has failed to maintain the moral leadership of the world, and how essential it is, if Communist encroachments are to be arrested, that the West take positive action, instead of focusing on purely preventive measures. One must recall that Mr. Acheson was co-author of the Acheson-Lilienthal report, the first official document in American history envisaging the need for a supra-national authority in the new age of warfare. If he now proclaims a half-policy devoted to the requirements of power, he may do so because he is not sure of the fervent support and clear understanding of the American people. A livelier show of public interest in this country would assure passage of the two resolutions (S. Con. Res. 56 and H. Con. Res. 64) asking for a world-government policy by the United States government. That in turn would shake the State Department into something better than the painstaking timidity of the comment made on the world-government resolutions by Assistant Secretary Hickerson before the Senate subcommittee on Foreign Relations.

President Truman has said enough officially to give the country an adequate formula for what should forthwith become Part Two of our foreign policy. He has had this possibility before him ever since his committee on air power, under the chairmanship of Thomas K. Finletter, made its report. "Man," he said in his State of the Union message, "must create the moral and legal framework for the world which will insure that his new powers are used for good and not for evil. . . . We are working toward the time when the U. N. will control weapons of mass destruction and will have the forces to preserve international law and order."

"We are working toward this time," said the President. He should let that become the main objective of his Administration.

Harold Laski, Socialist

BY KINGSLEY MARTIN

London, April 17

I SHOULD say that significant though Laski's books have been to the thinking of this generation, valuable though his indefatigably loyal service has been to the Labor Party, and effective though his eloquence proved on innumerable platforms, it is not to any of these that his unique influence can be traced. It was most of all as a teacher that Harold Laski achieved greatness. All over the world his students are among the leaders of the democratic cause. For a generation his name has been one to conjure with—in America, where it is at least as widely known as in England; in India and indeed throughout Asia; in all the Dominions; in Europe, particularly in Germany and Scandinavia; and, finally, to an increasing extent in Africa, where students, discovering their role in the world struggle, found in Laski that passionate demand for social justice without which his demand for economic and administrative realism would have been made in vain.

It was when Laski returned from America to lecture at the London School of Economics in 1920 that I first met him. I was myself an undergraduate at Cambridge. Four years later I became his assistant in the Department of Political Science. I got to know him very well, personally, academically, and politically. In 1920 he was twenty-six years of age. When Graham Wallas retired in 1926, Laski took his place as professor of political science.

In those days Laski produced an extraordinary impression. He was a very small man with a very big head. He was also very young and completely self-confident. He would talk on equality about their own subjects with specialists in every field. As his erudition and range of reading were really remarkable, his performance impressed all the listeners except, sometimes, the expert whom he contradicted.

As a speaker he surprised by the brilliance of his diction, the complexity of his syntax, and the apparently bottomless store of his knowledge. What, however, was far more surprising was his ability to captivate enormous audiences of working people. I remember the impression he made as a speaker in the days before he was famous. He would appear, a minute figure on the platform, with his hands behind his back, looking rather like a schoolboy about to recite. And then, astonishingly, the words would come rolling out in tremendous, Gladstonian periods. His eloquence was as remarkable as the pungency of his comments. His wit turned out to be exactly the type which working-class audiences en-

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joyed. His attacks on property and privilege were scathing and his repartee blistering. He had great courage in controversy. His books infuriated reviewers who were accustomed to expect a cautious and often evasive work from academic writers. Perhaps his most extraordinary gift was a photographic memory. His annual scores of lectures on the history of political theory may in the course of years have become, as students assert, inaccurate as to dates and unprecise in quotation. But they covered a range of historical and theoretical knowledge which no contemporary could equal; they were delivered without notes year after year, and they never failed in their intention, which was to inspire excitement in students who had never before thought about the subject. He had the supreme gift of the teacher: he made the student want to learn.

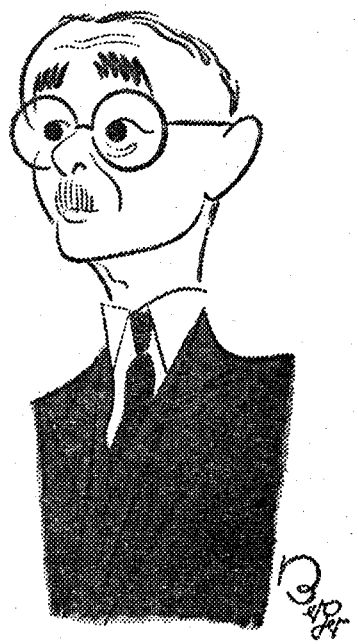
THIS is not the place to assess the permanent value of Professor Laski's political thinking. His socialism had its origin in the moral revolt against social injustice, and it was not until the capitalist crisis of 1929 that Marxism began to play a dominant part in his political philosophy. Those who would accuse him of being a liberal are only right in the sense that he began as a disciple of Tocqueville, Mill, and Justice Holmes, and always responded to the appeal of individual liberty. Unlike liberal philosophers, however, he insisted that the rights of man, originally won for the middle class, meant little to the workers as long as power was in the hands of a monopoly of rich men. Thus he was a Socialist because without socialism it was cant to talk about either liberty or equality.

Events, however, increasingly compelled his thoughts into Marxist channels. His little book on communism, critical of Marxism though it was, showed a change in his thinking that was confirmed by the slump and the Labor Party débâcle in 1931. His new position was summarized in his book "Democracy in Crisis." In the *New Statesman and Nation*, July, 1935, he wrote in a review of a book by Bukharin:

> . . . no tool at the command of the social philosopher surpasses Marxism either in its power to explain the movement of ideas or its authority to predict their practical outcome. On the nature and function of the state, on legal institutions, on capitalist habits, on historiography, on the development of philosophical systems, Marxism holds the field against any of its rivals. On the breakdown of capitalist democracy, the decline of bourgeois culture, the rise of fascism, the role of non-revolutionary socialism, it has insights not possessed by any alternative method of analysis.

The problem remained whether the conflict in Britain could be resolved without violence or whether our ruling class, which has often given way to democratic demands in the past, would refuse, in the final crisis, to accept a "revolution by consent."

Increasingly, as the conflict between communism and social democracy sharpened, Laski was confronted by the paradox between his Marxist philosophy of history and his passionate—and ultimately victorious—belief in personal liberty. In the heyday of the Popular Front, when with Strachey and Gollancz he made up the trio which organized the Left Book Club, he was able to resolve that paradox, as did so many British progressives, by seeking a united front against fascism. But though he championed the Soviet revolution to the end, there were few more devastating critics of Communist tactics, of trials and purges and use of conspiratorial techniques in a democratic society. Laski believed that in a country like Britain, where there is such attachment to personal freedom, the Labor Party was the only possible instrument for establishing socialism. He fought to maintain cooperation with the Communists as long as possible, but parted company when it was clear that their object was disruption. He remained honestly and even vehemently critical of the Labor Party, but he gave it his loyalty to the end. If he had not been determined to fight for it on so many electoral platforms last February, when his strength was clearly exhausted, he would be alive today.



Harold J. Laski

One more thing should be said—perhaps the most important. To those who knew him intimately the strangest fact was the contrast between his public *persona*—the personality which newspaper readers assumed to be his—and Harold Laski the friend and colleague. Laski's great public qualities made him unpopular as well as popular. In politics he was not always wise, and certainly not always prudent. His books, his oratory, his political and literary writings produced admiration by their vitality, their brilliance, and their erudition. But they did not in themselves compel affection: often they were too stylized, too Latinized, too allusive and recondite to be good vehicles of his personality. Yet I have never known a man who was more loved by his friends, especially by students. More remarkable still, perhaps, he was held in great affection even by colleagues who thought his opinions and in-

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fluence pernicious and by political opponents who, until they met him, talked of him as if he were a traitor for whom hanging was too good. It was indeed impossible to know him without feeling affection for him or to be intimate with him without loving him. I should say that the keynote of his personality was generosity. I have never known anyone else in public life who had so much to give and who gave it so ungrudgingly, who in the midst of innumerable activities was always ready to give to anyone, duke or lame duck, his time, his ideas, his aid, and indeed the whole of himself.

BESIDE THE POINT

SENATOR TAFT is through. So are Ed Flynn, Jimmy Durante, Harold Stassen, and dozens of other top-flight leaders in the political and cultural life of this country. I have beside me, as I write, documentary evidence of a nature so stunning as to assure me a place in contemporary history alongside Major George Racey Jordan. I will gladly turn it over to the FBI or to any Congressional committee that wants it, but my guess is that no one will ask for it. Too many big names involved. Yet it is perfectly good evidence, as these matters are judged at present, and I have no recourse but to take my case directly to the people.

Belatedly thumbing through some of my unanswered correspondence the other day, I came upon an innocent-looking letter dated January 6 and bearing at the top the inscription, "John Dewey Ninetieth Birthday Fund." It made the usual plea for a contribution after first touching on the "birthday celebration" for Dr. Dewey* which took place last October, but the content is irrelevant here. The real story—and it should rock the country—is the list of names that adorns the letter under the heading "Sponsoring Committee."

Many of the old standbys are here—Albert Einstein, whose fake theories were recently exploded by John Rankin; Eleanor Roosevelt, Van Wyck Brooks—congenital letterhead people whose names have been tossed around committee rooms ever since the nation awoke to the menace of the Bolsheviki. But there is much that is new and shocking about this specimen. To begin with, we find directly below Eleanor Roosevelt the name of Mrs. Kermit Roosevelt, of the respectable Oyster Bay branch of the family. (It will be recalled, however, that Theodore Roosevelt, also of Oyster Bay, was the Presidential nominee of the Progressive Party in 1912. Henry A. Wallace was the Progressive nominee in 1948, *with the open support of the Communist Party.*)

* Not only is Dr. Dewey no relative of Thomas E. Dewey, a significant fact in itself, but he is known to have visited Russia twenty years ago and to have come back with some favorable impressions which it took him several years to discard.

At this point in my research, remembering the bitterness that T. R. had stirred up among G. O. P. regulars, I was ready to wire my Republican Senator. But before the messenger could arrive, my eye had wandered down the list, and there, sandwiched in halfway between Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (of Americans for Democratic Action, recently exposed in *Reader's Digest*) and Senator Harley M. Kilgore (a socialistic Fair Dealer), I found the name of Irving M. Ives (R., N.Y.)! In the C's, to make matters worse, I was stunned to discover Republican Representative F. R. Coudert, supposedly a Commy-hunter from way back, cheek by jowl with James B. Carey (C. I. O.), Gordon Clapp (T. V. A.), and Ben Cohen (F. D. R.). I was soon to realize that the list was replete with these revealing juxtapositions: David Dubinsky and Jimmy Durante, Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., and Louis Fischer, Felix Frankfurter and Bishop Charles K. Gilbert. Here was Bob Moses sharing honors with Reinhold Niebuhr, Walter Lippmann with Walter Reuther, Arthur Hays Sulzberger with Al Capp, creator of the socialistic Shmoo.

Talk about association! Here was the whole Pink Network, its tentacles reaching into the offices of college presidents, the church, Hollywood, and the Supreme Court of the United States. And more than the Supreme Court, into the inner sanctum of the New York *Times*! But the greatest shock I have saved to the end, fearing the effect on the country if the news were broken too suddenly. Here it is: between the listing of Herbert Bayard Swope and Dr. Ordway Tead—I swear it by the Attorney General's index of subversive organizations—appears the name of Robert A. Taft. Is it clear now why Taft's name has been attached to bills for public housing and education? Was it this connection with the political underworld that Senator Bricker had in mind a few years ago when he whispered that the Socialists had "got to Bob Taft"? And if Taft can split a letterhead with Murray and Reuther, is it any wonder that the Taft-Hartley act hasn't worked?

As my mind played over these tantalizing questions, a far more disturbing one rose to plague me. Who, I asked myself, is Joe McCarthy's chief advocate in the Senate? It is this same Robert A. Taft. Then McCarthy, too. . . ? It seemed impossible, but here he is, linked, through Taft, to the Ohio Senator's cosponsor, Felix Frankfurter, the man who testified for Alger Hiss; and to Albert Einstein, a sponsor of the 1943 Congress of American-Soviet Friendship. I don't say that McCarthy is a card-carrying member of the clique, but I do say that his connections with Taft and the Pink Network make him, to coin a cliché, a "dangerous influence." As for Taft himself, and Stassen too, they stand revealed at last as what my friend Westbrook Pegler calls Felix Frankfurter's "happy little hot-dogs." Where will it all end?

R. B.

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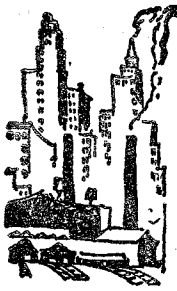

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Preparing for 1952

The United States has less than two years' time to develop import policies to increase world trade. . . . The end of E. C. A. in 1952 will precipitate a major crisis for the free world—or certainly will cause upheavals in the pattern of trade relations—unless the United States is prepared by 1952 with a workable substitute program aimed at closing the "dollar gap" between exports and imports.

THESE words are from a joint statement by the Twentieth Century Fund and the National Planning Association, which together are launching a study of America's capacity to consume more goods and services from abroad and of the effects of increased imports on American industries. There can be no doubt that such a research project is needed, for the fear of foreign goods still prevails in many quarters which command considerable political attention. And although public understanding of the essentially reciprocal nature of international trade has grown in recent years, the idea that it is possible to sell abroad without buying has not been altogether eradicated.

Among the unthinking, indeed, that notion may have been encouraged in the last four years, during which we have exported some $25,000,000,000 worth of goods more than we have imported. That has been the extent of the trade gap during this period—a gap filled partly by depletion of foreign reserves of gold and dollars and, to a much greater extent, by loans and grants provided by the United States government. As an emergency measure the extension of such aid has been abundantly justified. If the Western European recipients had been forced to restrict their purchases in the dollar area to the amounts they could finance from their own resources, shortages of food and raw materials would have given a spur to revolutionary movements, and economic recovery would be far less advanced than it is today. Meanwhile the United States would probably have experienced a serious economic crisis owing to inability to dispose of large surpluses of agricultural and other goods.

However, no one I know believes that E. R. P. should continue indefinitely. It is inconceivable that American taxpayers would be willing to go on subsidizing European consumers, and American exporters, to the tune of several billions of dollars annually. And European countries, grateful as they are for aid received, do not want to become permanent clients of the United States. They are, in fact, extremely anxious to regain their economic independence, for even if we have generally refrained from attaching political strings to our dollars, acceptance of aid has automatically restricted to some extent the freedom of action of the recipient countries.

The problem, then, is to balance our trade with the world without giving away a proportion of our exports. Already, we may note, the gap is beginning to close. In the first half of 1949 our merchandise surplus averaged $583,000,000 a month; in the second, only $293,000,000 a month. This trend is continuing. For the first two months of this year the surplus was $293,000,000, or well under one-third of that for the corresponding period of 1949. And while it would be rash to project trade totals for the entire year on the basis of returns for two months, Department of Commerce officials believe that our export surplus in 1950 will be around $2,500,000,000 compared with $5,400,000,000 in 1949.

This striking decline might seem to suggest that the problem of the dollar gap is being solved, and in a way, a most unsatisfactory way, it is. Analysis of trade returns shows that the balance is being restored almost wholly by a drastic decline in American exports. Thus in January and February, when imports increased by a meager $64,500,000 compared to the first two months of last year, exports dropped no less than $634,200,000. What we are facing is a reduction in the total volume of our trade with the world—a reduction which must prove damaging to American agriculture and industry as well as to the economies of other lands. It would be far healthier both for us and for our foreign customers if they could maintain their purchases here at a relatively high level, as they would do were they able to earn more dollars through the sale of goods and services.

That is why the Administration is now mobilizing its forces to encourage the growth of imports. The President recently appointed Gordon Gray, ex-Secretary of the Army, "to advise and assist in coordinating and stimulating the activities of the various government agencies which can contribute to a solution of the [trade gap] problem." Simultaneously, he authorized publication of a White House Memorandum which emphasized the importance of greater imports if the new international balance was to be struck at a high level.

A number of government departments are busying themselves in this matter. The E. C. A. has organized a trade-promotion division to encourage European countries to set up "dollar export boards" with the objective of increasing their sales to America by at least 50 per cent. The Department of State has just published a list of 2,500 products, ranging from automobiles to woolen underwear, tariffs on which may be cut in reciprocal trade negotiations with seventeen nations slated to begin next September. The Treasury is studying methods of simplifying and relaxing customs regulations, which sometimes have proved a greater barrier to foreign goods than tariff duties themselves. The Department of Commerce and E. C. A. are backing an international trade fair, to be held in Chicago next August, which will provide a show window for a host of foreign products and, its promoters believe, "dramatize the success of the Marshall Plan."

Taken together, these various programs and the publicity that accompanies them represent a formidable effort to make us "import conscious" and receptive to the idea of giving foreign products a break when they offer good value. But they are undoubtedly making some people "import conscious" in a different and unfavorable way. Next week I shall pay some attention to the gathering opposition.

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Essays and Asides

ON WRITERS' CONFERENCES, II

BY ROLFE HUMPHRIES

IN THE first part of this essay I mentioned "room for improvement" and "infinitely greater possibilities." I should like to be more specific, however utopian I may sound.

In the first place, every state university, especially if there is summer activity on its campus, should regard the operation of a Writers' Conference as one of its necessary functions as a service to its taxpayers. The support of the administration should be enthusiastic. I was told last summer by one young man, not at all an academic or pedant type, that he considered the Writers' Conference a greater asset to the university than the football team. (The team, by the way, had scored nothing but victories, which is more than could be said for any of the writers.)

This support should take the form of a generous budget: the staff should be well paid, there should be provision for scholarships, especially to deserving young writers in the university, also to talented older people in the state. The director should not have to provide all the entertainment for the staff out of his own pocket; and "a generous budget" means also that the director, during the school year, should have ample staff to operate, and ample free time in which to direct matters. I think it quite probable that the director needs an assistant, over and beyond secretarial and clerical help.

Every effort should be made to integrate closely the work of the Writers' Conference and the work of the university. Faculty members should not be permitted to feel that as soon as the visiting celebrities hit town they are to remain in the background. They should supplement the work of the conference by appearing on the program with lectures or talks; they should be made to feel welcome in any or all workshops, round tables, informal gatherings. This applies to more than the English Department. With all the loose chatter writers go in for about the atom bomb, for example, why not have a nuclear physicist come around and say what's what? And a psychiatrist might not be entirely wasted on at least those writers of juveniles who think that all children are blue-eyed, golden-haired little darlings who love Poppa and Momma dreffful hard all the time.

In assembling his staff the director should first and foremost engage good writers. A substantial majority, three out of four, should also be good teachers. Sometimes a good writer has never done any teaching; he may be brilliant at it, he may be a flop. This is a gamble that has to be taken. (By the way, a writer can learn something about writing by having to teach it.) The staff should be balanced—in more senses than one, of course; here I mean particularly some veterans, some newcomers; not too many more men than women, or vice versa. The dictator may have to be very intuitive, long in advance, or twice as diplomatic, during the conference, in discovering who is likely to, and who does, get on whose nerves.

Manuscripts should be submitted well in advance of the conference, and be carefully screened, preferably by a university reading committee, possibly also, in part, by the staff; the responsibility should not be solely the director's. By screening, I mean more than consideration, simply, of the literary quality of the manuscript. Half a dozen mediocre poems by a young person of twenty are not at all the same proposition they would be if written by someone three times that age. In general, preference should be given the young, and questions asked; anybody who is too sensitive to tell the truth, give or take five years, about his age, is probably not very serious about wanting to learn to write. And, budget or no budget, a few candidates ought to be rejected every year, *pour encourager les autres*. Nothing would be better advertising for a conference than to have the word get round, as it would, that they don't take everybody.

If the Writers' Conference really is considered as even a fraction of the asset to the university that the football team is, the director and his assistants should be at least to that extent energetic in recruiting candidates. This means a lot of work, including field trips to other colleges in the state—every college editor, whether of newspaper or literary magazine, annual or jokebook, should be considered automatically a possibility, and probably interested. Writing teachers in other institutions should be appealed to for recruits; if the state contains large towns, and the university has a Department of Journalism, the newspapers in these towns could help in running contests and sponsoring candidates. Rich alumni should be appealed to for subsidies and grants-in-aid. There *are* some writers who have made money. It should not be assumed, in the search for material, that talent is exclusively the property of the poor, and that the only way to get the young is to supply scholarships. There might be quite a few rich kids who are interested in writing and would have as good a time in two weeks at the Writers' Conference as they do the rest of the summer at the beach or the country club. Some provision might be made for exchange scholars from abroad.

Once the conference is under way, the program should be so organized as to provide for, if not to insist on, a generous amount of free time for all. If students are not restricted in the number of workshops they are permitted to attend, effort should be made to limit the number scheduled daily. I have noticed that some students will try to gulp down everything in sight: they will gallop around to a session in the novel at 9, radio at 10, juvenile at 11, poetry at 1:30, non-fiction at 2:45, a

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round-table at 4, and an evening lecture at night. Nothing is more discouraging toward the end of the first week than the sight of these sodden wretches falling asleep, usually with obbligato. It is not only as a precautionary measure, however, that leisure should be planned. There is also the constructive aspect of it: most teachers, I think, would like to have work done on the ground, laboratory exercises, five-finger routines, and this is impossible unless the student has time. The staff also needs free time, including free evenings; there is a limit to the number of novels a man can read and to the number of daily conferences he can hold over individual manuscripts before he begins to gabble like a striped-bottomed baboon.

In restricting the amount of work, whether for students or staff, care should be taken not to have a system of air-tight departmentalization. The students in the poetry class should have a chance to meet the novelist as a person, to exchange some conversation with him, in an easy and affable way, without latching on to him and getting into his hair. The director, or the secretary, should know enough about the membership so that introductions of those with common interests would not be left entirely to chance. And the social side can be overdone, especially when it comes to jolly old beach picnics or scrambling up some mountain for a hot-dog roast. That really is the Chautauqua touch. After all, writers is what we're supposed to be, not pioneers. Except of the written word.

Oh, yes, much room for improvement: a lot to be done, and it takes a lot of doing. Fourteen seasons, and still not licked; a man ought to learn better sense in that time. Perhaps like the girl in the song I'm just a cockeyed optimist, with the emphasis on the adjective. But I do believe two things, with all my heart: first, that I am a better writer, myself, for all this experience; and, second, that there ought to be many more Writers' Conferences, and much, much better ones.

[*The first part of this essay appeared last week. In the third and concluding section Mr. Humphries will present samples of verse from Writers' Conference workshops.*]

A Lid Lifted

RECOLLECTIONS OF LOGAN PEARSALL SMITH: THE STORY OF A FRIENDSHIP. By Robert Gathorne-Hardy. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

THOSE who have made a cult of "Trivia" and accepted Logan Pearsall Smith as "the Sage of Chelsea" or "a saint of the life of letters" must be prepared for a shock when they read this book. Those who have honored him for his linguistic studies and seventeenth-century researches and have rated him as something higher than a minor light or epigone in the expatriate circle of Henry James, Santayana, Berenson, and Edith Wharton may be equally dismayed by it. Far from being a genial postscript to Smith's graceful if deftly fatuous memoir "Unforgotten Years," it proves to be one of the grisliest examples of literary biography that has come to light within recent memory.

Mr. Gathorne-Hardy, though the son of one earl and the grandson of another, was an impecunious worker in an antiquarian bookshop when Smith discovered him in 1928. An enthusiasm for Donne and Jeremy Taylor brought them together. The young man, himself a literary apprentice, responded ardently to Smith's rich years, ripened tastes, and what he calls his "unparalleled aesthetic sensibility." The old man beheld "one of the finest flowers of English civilization, Eton, and Christ Church." After a short spell of Taylorian research and literary pilgrimages they made a compact. Mr. Gathorne-Hardy gave up his bookshop and became, under generous terms of time and duty, not a secretary or companion precisely but "both pupil and assistant," a literary "midwife," a "perpetual" or "passionate apprentice." He also received a monthly stipend, with hints of an eventual legacy. Though Smith was a man of sixty-five, living on inherited American wealth, and his disciple was twenty-eight, neither seems to have been seriously troubled by the doubts about such an arrangement that would storm the average mind of mature judgment. Soon each was producing books under the other's stimulus, with English and Continental travel to vary their working schedule. Two strict conditions were

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imposed on Mr. Gathorne-Hardy: he was not to marry (an earlier Smith disciple, Philip Morrell, had been abruptly disowned when he married Lady Ottoline), and he was not to write best-selling novels.

It was not long before he discovered that his blessings were not mixed. For one thing, Smith soon revealed himself a confirmed manic-depressive, swinging from phases of euphoria marked not only by kindness and high spirits but by the atrocious hoaxes he practiced on his friends and by the "insupportable anecdotage" of his endlessly and nauseatingly repeated stories, to bouts of paralyzing gloom—his "interlunaries"—when "the light of welcome no longer beaconed in his eyes" and he drugged himself with reading —"he would only look up when I was close beside him, and would be reading again before I had left the room." This ailment, for which he seems never to have resorted to treatment, entailed a species of schizophrenia which Smith's Quaker mother had noted in his babyhood when she said, "It really seems as if the fellow was composed of two individuals," and which made him, when his "evil genius" was upon him, unrecognizable as his more amiable self. He likewise found the article on paranoia in the "Encyclopedia Britannica" absorbing and took an avid interest in the more arcane aspects of sex ("the prenuptial suicide of male virgins was a favorite subject of discussion with Logan"), indulging in "enormous" and "quite unreal fantasies about the private life of actual people," and remarking in an aphorism that "an improper mind is a perpetual feast" and in one of his reveries that "I want to be old and gay and obscene."

Nor did these eccentricities assume an amiable form. They emerged, bit by bit, in traits of peevish vindictiveness and self-indulgence, in "self-blindness" and an ugly possessiveness, but soon in something worse—in "a proudly proclaimed implacability" as regards neglect or imagined offenses, in a delight in "biting," "pin-sticking," and "flea-picking," in stinging barbs of reproof or insult, and eventually in abrupt dealings of Smith's trump card—threats about stopping money and supplies. On a trip to Teneriffe in 1936 he said one morning: "Do you think it wise to go off and neglect me, as you did last night?" "Wise?" murmured the apprentice. "Well," said Smith, "when you have a friend who might leave you a lot of money, do you think it's wise to neglect him?" "This," says Mr. Gathorne-Hardy, "was the first time that Logan truly shocked me." But worse was still to come.

In 1938 the friends made a trip to Iceland. Already disgruntled on shipboard, Smith rapidly worsened after arrival. Small offenses were toted up, jealousy of his pupil's Icelandic friends fanned a smoldering resentment, Smith contracted pneumonia, soon he became completely mad, and then his festering hatred of his friend broke out in wild harangues of abuse, recrimination, and accusations of everything from inconsiderateness, treachery, and lying to stealing and kidnapping. Understandably the disciple's health itself cracked during this crisis. Smith was later abject in apology to the friend who had saved his life, but he was also to say, "I expect I told you some home truths."

Back in London a truce was arrived at, but the alliance never regained its old confidence. Mr. G. H. became a wartime rescue worker while Smith stuck to his Chelsea house, determined to outface the bombings or be obliterated. He quarreled with Mrs. Russell, his sister and housemate of thirty years, finally forcing her to quit their home. "If eggs came to the house, he had them all. Admirers from overseas sent him a steady succession of food parcels. Only leavings went to the others. He took these things as a right." Moments of the earlier kindness were engulfed in craziness and a general deterioration; money losses became an obsession; and shortly before Smith's death in 1946 a brutal rupture severed all connections and the disciple found himself cut off without a penny.

"A spoiled old man"—such was the verdict on which Mr. Gathorne-Hardy and Mrs. Russell agreed at Smith's deathbed. In an Epilogue the disciple attempts to assess his friend and enemy. He ventures a theory about a "mother complex" and a chronic escapism. He scrupulously acknowledges great benefits of kindness, generosity, literary instruction, and personal amenity. But he leaves a final impression of baffled regret and disgust after his rough and shattering experience of almost twenty years.

The impression has its relevance to criticism. Between Smith as the devoted scholar of Donne, Taylor, aphoristic literature, and "Words and Idioms" and that dubious and overrated author of "Trivia," "Reperusals and Recollections," and "On Reading Shakespeare," there existed a hiatus only partially explained by the wretched personal history Mr. Gathorne-Hardy

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witnessed. It betrays the sorest liabilities of that self-indulgent cosmopolitan expatriation which Smith, unlike James, Santayana, or Mrs. Wharton, failed to surmount. It also reveals the stunting influence of that most deluding of spiritual proclivities, urbanity. It probably explains why a career so blessed in privilege, wealth, and contacts that ranged from Pater, Arnold, Whitman, and Whistler to the age of Eliot and *Horizon*, came to so dubious an end. It may give some relevance to Smith's pride in once having spelled Comte Robert de Montesquiou as model for Whistler's portrait (now in the Frick Collection) of "the immortal Baron de Charlus." On any ground it makes for uneasy and depressing reading, and provides one of the more grimly fascinating memoirs of recent years.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

Auden as Critic

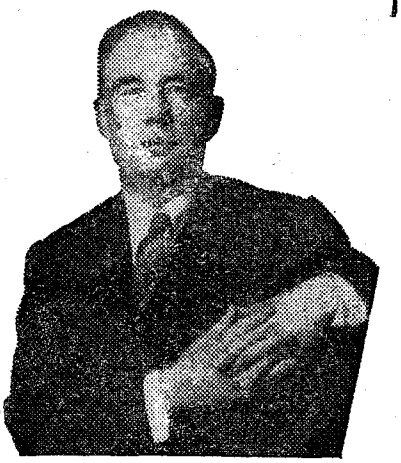
THE ENCHAFED FLOOD, OR THE ROMANTIC ICONOGRAPHY OF THE SEA. By W. H. Auden. Random House. $2.50.

THIS is the first considerable piece of literary criticism in prose that I believe I have seen by W. H. Auden. In his verse, however, where Auden talks about everything under the sun, recovering for English poetry the right to deal with subjects that seemed to have become the exclusive prerogative of prose, he has also talked at length about writing and writers. One recalls such poems as "In Memory of W. B. Yeats," "To E. M. Forster," the dazzlingly fluent "At the Grave of Henry James," or the fine appreciation "Edward Lear." Though always extremely intelligent, these poems are marked by a certain conventionality of opinion. To call Henry James a "master of nuance and scruple," or to speak of the rhetorician's lie bursting in the child Rimbaud like a pipe, is after all the standard remark. But the pleasure of these appreciations is all in their wit, feeling, and verbal bravura—in the poetry, and not in the judgments one can extract from the poetry. So that the absence of a strong and independent critical faculty hardly matters.

The lack of a strong critical faculty matters much more when the poet is writing criticism, as in the oddly schematic present volume. "The Enchafèd Flood" is one more "attempt to understand the nature of Romanticism," only this time "through an examination of its treatment of a single theme, the sea." No subject is ever exhausted, not even romanticism, and so I suppose there will be writers discussing it till the end of time. But at this late stage, if a critic is going to throw any new light on the matter, he must transcend the old and now barren distinctions and categories that have governed the discussion for so long. In these lectures it seems to me that Auden has rather tamely submitted to the conventional notion of a classical or neo-classical thesis and a romantic antithesis or reaction, and that this in part accounts for a basic academicism of thinking contrasting queerly with the author's sophisticated literary references, easy prose, and whole surface manner of approach to his subject. Thus under the heading Romantic Aesthetic Theory Auden writes without embarrassment that such men as Dryden and Pope thought "artistic creation an entirely conscious process" requiring care, time, skill, and pains, whereas "the Romantic reaction, naturally, was to stress imagination and vision; i.e., the less conscious side of artistic creation. . . ."

The romantic idea of the sea itself, as Auden develops it, we may roughly sum up as the differences between Homer's Ulysses and Tennyson's. Whereas for the pre-romantic ages the sea was the fearful unknown and inhuman chaos threatening the human community on shore, for the romantic it represented the fascinating unknown and true realm of innocence, possibility, and experience, into whose arms the outcast mariner-poet rushed to escape the death in life of land, the tedium and melancholia of the mechanized desert of modern civilization.

Yet nothing of what Auden has to say here is really unexpected. That the romantic mariner is a sensitive pariah fleeing the barren civilized shore for the noble savagery of the waves, that he prefers the illimitable realm of oceanic possibility to the ennui of the finite round of life on land, etc., etc., hardly surprises one. All of this, in substance, has been said before, and said again, about *romanticism*. It does not deepen our knowledge of romanti-



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cism but extends what we already know to embrace another subject matter, the sea. The "iconographic" method, when it fails to gain us any new insights, lapses directly into something perilously like one branch of that pseudo-scholarship which E. M. Forster so amusingly anatomizes in his "Aspects of the Novel": "Classification by subject matter—sillier still. The literature of Inns, beginning with 'Tom Jones'; the literature of the Woman's Movement, beginning with 'Shirley'; the literature of Desert Islands . . . novels relating to industrialism, aviation, chiropody, the weather."

This pseudo-scholarly impression which "The Enchafèd Flood" makes on one is aggravated by the show of logical and scientific rigor in its numbered paragraphs, catalogues, diagrams, and propensity to labor the obvious. "Moby Dick," we are told, "is full of parable and typology, i.e., as X is in one field of experience so is Y in another." The whaling life depicted by Melville, Auden writes, is a synecdoche for life in general, as for example: "(1) Whalemen must kill for their living. So in one way or another must we all. . . . (3) The crew are involved in each other's actions and characters. So every world is a world of social relations. . . ."

Auden is best when farthest off his subject, as his quotations are more interesting than his argument. I particularly liked the description of the three mates of the Pequod, each of whom he erects into one of those wonderful moral-psychological types of the kind we come upon so often in his poetry. Auden clearly has a great deal of feeling for such things as "Moby Dick" and "The Hunting of the Snark." It is a pity that most of this feeling should be stifled in an uninspired iconography.

MARTIN GREENBERG

When We Were Very Young

GROWING UP INTO REVOLUTION. By Margaret Cole. Longmans Green and Company. $3.50.

MARGARET COLE grew up into revolution out of a middle-class academic home presided over by a tyrannical Victorian *paterfamilias*; a sojourn at a famous English girls' boarding school, of which she paints a grim picture; and what proved, for her, the emancipating experience of a classical education at Girton College, Cambridge. World War I gave her a chance to escape from her family to a teaching job in London, where she made contact with the varied world of Labor and, in particular, with a group of "wild young men" who had captured control of the Fabian Research Department from their scandalized elders.

"The Movement" [she writes] which became my second university, taking up the major part of my time and thoughts, sleeping and waking, for the next few years, was a strange and live thing, vivid now in the recollection of anyone who was ever part of it. It was neither a party nor a defined or organized society, but rather a nucleus of "comrades" (to use a word which has since become deplorably narrowed in its meaning) to which were loosely attached a great number of sympathizers.

Reading Margaret Cole's account of "the Movement," I was seized with a strong nostalgia, for she has been wonderfully successful in evoking the atmosphere of those years of ferment when so many young people, both in England and America, were throwing themselves wholeheartedly into the furtherance of socialism by various means. Her particular cause was the Guild Socialist movement which her husband, G. D. H. Cole, the distinguished Labor economist and historian, had helped to found: mine, at that time, was the Independent Labor Party, and, although our groups overlapped at some points, there were deep doctrinal differences between us which then seemed very important.

The Guild Socialists emphasized workers' control of industry and hoped to achieve this end by direct industrial action: they scorned alike the collectivism of the Webbs and the "parliamentarianism" of the Independent Labor Party. As Margaret Cole puts it in words which apply to other groups also:

We were very young; and we were as arrogant as we were young, and contemptuous of anyone with whom we disagreed even on the smallest points. . . . But I should in justice add that we were arrogant because we were public-spirited, deeply convinced that we were right, and upholding a righteous cause against embattled might. . . . We did really believe that it mattered enormously for the future of mankind that we should stick up the last press-cutting and check the last significant fact. . . . Being so dedicated, we were extraordinarily happy.

I have quoted this passage at some length because it illustrates the author's ability to review her belligerent past with detachment and at the same time recreate that sense of exhilarating camaraderie which is the peculiar reward of young people who work for a cause in which they fervently believe. And while Margaret Cole has much else to say that would deserve notice were space available, it is this recapture of the spirit of a very formative period in the development of the British Labor movement which makes her mellow personal record both good reading and good history.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Portrait of Fanny Burney

A DEGREE OF PRUDERY. A Biography of Fanny Burney. By Emily Hahn. Doubleday and Company. $3.50.

FANNY BURNEY would have been surprised to hear it said that Mr. Barlow "fell hard" for her; that Lady Harcourt "kept passing the buck"; and that Mrs. Schwellenberg, the dragon of Queen Caroline's household, "was not quick on the uptake." Perhaps, however, these phrases will suggest as well as anything else the fact that Miss Hahn writes about the eighteenth century in a somewhat unconventional way. The substance of her book is on the whole orthodox enough. Most of her material comes either from Fanny's own diary or from "Thraliana," and her interpretation of characters is not very far from that generally accepted. But she writes in a brisk, modern, *New Yorkerish* way, and she achieves something which might almost be called a "profile." The result is an amusing book which ought to please the general reader without too much annoying the professional scholar. In fact, Miss Hahn has a real insight into the eighteenth-century way of looking at things, and she catches the atmosphere better than many a writer of more elaborate pretensions.

Nearly everyone who gets to know Fanny well ends by being just a little bit irritated with her. As a young girl she was both cleverer and more pert

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than anyone has a right to be and at the same time so invariably "correct" in all her opinions, sentiments, and actions that she ought to have had her ears boxed. As she grows older she slowly changes under our very eyes into an intolerably pompous prude, and the pomposity is so much less expected than the prudery that one is a bit surprised that Miss Hahn—who is no hero-worshiper—makes little of the contrast between the witty shrewdness of the Diary or even the best pages of "Evelina" and those memoirs of her father which read like a bad burlesque of Dr. Johnson at his most formal.

Perhaps the reason is that Miss Hahn, who is rather aggressively "modern" and feminist, is after other game. She is by no means wholy unsympathetic toward either Fanny or her age, but she cannot quite accept the age's monstrous unfairness in permitting almost anything to men while drawing the line for women so precisely and so confiningly. Even less, perhaps, can she forgive Fanny for so tamely obeying the rules and, after the understandable fashion of those who do so, so rigidly applying them in the case of other women less complaisant. Nevertheless, to Miss Hahn's credit it must be said that her irritation does not prevent her from understanding very well indeed what the rules were, how they worked, and what they implied. She is, in fact, very shrewd in drawing the distinction between what propriety for women meant in the eighteenth century and what it was to come to mean for the Victorians. The ideal of the latter was ignorance. A "pure" woman was supposed never to have heard of a great many things and to have only a vague idea of what a good deal of the pother was about. In Fanny's time, on the other hand, young ladies were expected to know very well indeed everything that the men knew, and it was on the assumption that they did so that the tendency to hold them rigidly to account was based. No one who has read Victorian novels on the one hand and even a few pages of, say, "Pamela" on the other, can fail to perceive the difference. But I do not remember ever to have seen it so crisply stated before.

Fanny's diary was edited by herself many years after it was written. It is just possible that the first person who undertakes to examine the original manuscript will make some discoveries, but, unfortunately, while the American author of this book is in England the original of Fanny's diary is in the New York Public Library, where, I believe, it may be consulted even though publication is, for some reason, forbidden. On the whole, Miss Hahn's book is so entertaining and so fresh that no derogation or unfriendliness is implied in indicating a mistake or two of the sort from which most far more pretentious books are not exempt. James Clifford's "Hester Lynch Piozzi" contains much new information not in the earlier work she cites. The mechanics of the publishing and bookselling trade in the eighteenth century were more complicated than she indicates. Perhaps the reference to Dr. Johnson as a Whig is a mere slip of the pen.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Books in Brief

SEEDS OF TREASON. By Ralph de Toledano and Victor Lasky. Funk and Wagnalls. $3.50. This is by no means the definitive work on the celebrated case of Alger Hiss, having neither the breadth of vision nor the dispassionate spirit required to do justice to a highly complex tragedy. Viewed as a brief for the prosecution, however, the book has decided merits. A considerable mass of material from various proceedings is readably and dramatically brought together to weave a tight net about the brilliant junior officer of the New Deal. Political inferences drawn by the authors are far-fetched and Hiss's importance as a policy-maker wildly exaggerated. Time, possibly fuller information, and the cooling of passions should ultimately produce a more authoritative and less one-sided account of a grimly fascinating affair.

SYKEWAR. By Daniel Lerner. George W. Stewart. $6.50. A detailed report on the aims, organization, techniques, and results of psychological warfare against Germany, written by a former member of the Psychological Warfare Division, with a Foreword by General McClure and an essay by Richard H. S. Crossman, and with samples of texts and scripts.

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AND YET ANOTHER: ". . . We had everything to gain and nothing to lose but our ignorance."

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FACTS ON FILM

BY MARY ANNE GUITAR

NO SUBJECT deserves exciting dramatization on the screen more than education, and few subjects challenge the film-maker more severely. It takes ingenuity and insight to create a visually satisfying documentary from the bare stuff of classrooms, charts, graphs, and statistics. Somehow the camera must be brought to focus on a single significant facet of education and thus illuminate the whole. One new film does a fine job by approaching the problem in human terms, asking a single question of education—what kind of men and women will the teacher help her pupils to become?

"Who Will Teach Your Child?" produced by the National Film Board of Canada, works through the eyes of a child. Gently, persuasively, understandingly, the narrator explains the result of a child's curiosity as the camera follows its subject from birth to school age. These are charming, spontaneous photographs which capture a child's puzzled look, his frustrations, his struggle to adapt, and the subsequent delight in learning and doing. Then the film inquires into what happens to this natural spark of curiosity in the classroom. Will it be snuffed out by the rigid teacher who considers classroom disciplines more important than creative understanding? Or will it flower and be constructively channeled under the wise and sympathetic guidance of a true teacher? The film shows the effect of both approaches, negative and positive.

Other important points made by this documentary are the importance of hiring sensitive teachers who can carry the burden of emotionally disturbed children and provide them with a good experience, the need for alert teachers who will keep pace with an increasingly complex world by improving their skills and broadening their outlook, the necessity for training teachers thoroughly so they will not become discouraged and leave the profession.

"Who Will Teach Your Child?" is primarily concerned with the quality of teaching, demonstrating how much depends on the personal relationship between a child and his teacher. A flashback to the little red schoolhouse, done with wit and style, shows how far we have come in developing the amount and kind of information to be assimilated. Whether we have come an equal distance in creating teaching techniques and an adaptable philosophy of education is the chief question raised by the film. McGraw-Hill, 330 West Forty-second Street, New York, has exclusive sales-distribution rights. The print runs for twenty-four minutes and costs $85. It may be rented from the University Library for $5 a day.

"The American Teacher" (March of Time) attempts the same job as the Canadian film with less success. There is the same emphasis on a changing world which requires better education, but this film attacks the problem from the teacher's point of view. As is frequently the case with March of Time productions, the film presents its share of VIP's—Dr. Conant, Dr. Studebaker, Dr. Dewey among them. The teacher herself somewhat gets lost in the shuffle. One point is made clear, however: that the teacher's status is not as high as it should be. The film urges greater respect for the profession so that the schools may attract better personnel. The controversy between traditional and progressive methods of education is highlighted, but instead of letting the camera do its job, the narrator underlines the visual message without illuminating the controversy. The film runs for fifteen minutes.

A more recent March of Time release, "The Fight for Better Schools," is better suited to its producer's special technique. This film is the case history of a crusade to improve their schools carried on by the aroused citizens of Arlington County, Virginia. It provides a working blueprint of action for any community in the same situation. The citizens of Arlington were faced with an appointed school board that refused to serve the best interests of the community. The story of how they fought to get an elected school board—the first in Virginia's history—and raised money to hire fifty new teachers, build new schools, instal visual aids, and establish a health program, makes an absorbing film. Additional footage shows a comparable struggle to improve schools in Arkansas, Delaware, and Long Island, plus a glimpse of the National Citizens' Commission for better schools. This one runs twenty minutes. Both may be ordered from the March of Time, 369 Lexington Avenue, New York, for $55 a print. Rental fees average $3 a day.

Another film on a special educational problem is "The Children's Republic," narrated by Madeleine Carroll. The camera visits a Parisian school where war-time delinquents learn how to cooperate and fit into group activities. An America-France Films release, 1600 Broadway, New York, it may be rented for $7.50 a day or purchased for $100; it runs twenty minutes.

B. H. HAGGIN'S music column was unavoidably omitted from this issue. It will appear as usual next week.

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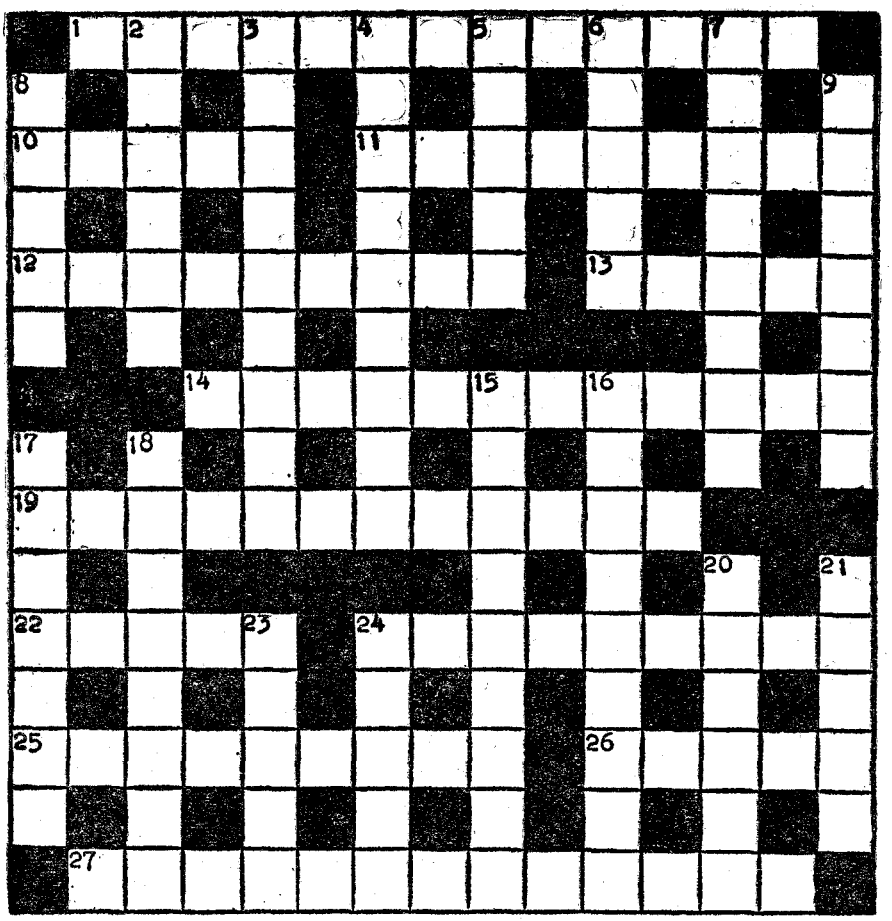
Crossword Puzzle No. 360

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Rip wasn't bothered by it. (18)
10 Gulls. (5)
11 You can see it is a chop, but its meat is not animal. (9)
12 On watch, perhaps for mail for the Yellow Knight. (4, 5)
13 It seems a lover was in wrong. (5)
14 Original plot, some say. (6, 2, 4)
19 A coin writers found bad, somewhat perversely. (12)
22 Interchanged? (5)
24 The way the rope crept for the teacher. (9)
25 A misnomer in guesswork might show them up. (9)
26 Get back early when the girl's in, if you want food. (5)
27 and 9 AXMASM? (5, 3, 2, 3, 7)

DOWN

2 Carnation bearers on Mother's Day. (6)
3 Simple Morris, perhaps. (4, 5)
4 Passenger in the crowded bus, at the stops? (9)
5 Round about the table, when lazy (5)
6 Organ point above and below. (5)
7 Weinberger's bagpiper. (8)
8 Saw from time to time. (5)
9 See 27.
15 Not a bad state for a clean sweater. (3, 6)
16 Wynken, Blynken, and Nod, perhaps. (9)
17 The splits? (7)
18 See 21.
20 No flow if you do. (6)
21 and 18 Might be the sequence of bad judgment at the bar. (5, 3, 5)
23 It's Polynesian—got an answer? (5)
24 Did he chuck his weight around in the *S.R.L.* letter controversy? (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 359

ACROSS:—1 STRAGGLING; 6 THAW; 10 ITALIAN; 11 MOUNTED; 12 GEORGE THE FIFTH; 14 UNSTRUNG; 15 ADHERE; 16 IN GEAR; 18 EMACIATE; 22 LONG JOHN SILVER; 24 PETUNIA; 25 MINARET; 27 and 26 THE MILLER'S TALE.

DOWN:—1 SWING MUSIC; 2 REASONS; 3 GOING GREAT GUNS; 4 LONG TON; 5 NUMBER; 7 and 23 HITS THE SPOT; 8 WADE; 9 JURISDICTIONAL; 13 CELEBRATES; 17 GLOTTAL; 19 MINIMUM; 20 ADVERSE; 21 POTASH.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

Letters to the Editors

Leopold's Opposition

Dear Sirs: Your editorial characterization [*The Nation*, March 25] of the activities of the Belgian Socialists as a sign of vigorous democracy strikes me as rather peculiar. I do not think that extra-parliamentary pressure to thwart the will of the majority is exactly a democratic procedure. Admittedly, the majority in this peculiar case is rather a slim one, but so is Mr. Attlee's in Great Britain, and I wonder whether you would call any obstructive and violent activity of the British opposition as democratic if that should occur.

FREDERICK P. BORNSTEIN

Herrin, Ill., April 15

Leopold's Heroism

Dear Sirs: If the Belgian industrial workers voted against King Leopold's return, it was because they had been deceived by a vicious smear campaign. The Socialist poster cited in your editorial note for March 18 is a perfect example. The facts are as follows:

1. Leopold did not go to Switzerland until September 30, 1945, nearly five months *after* Germany surrendered.

2. He finally accepted Hitler's invitation to Berchtesgaden *solely* in order to intercede for his hungry people and for the Walloon prisoners, against whom the Germans were discriminating, and to wring from the Führer assurance of Belgium's post-war independence. Neither side gained an inch.

3. Throughout the occupation Leopold stood as the "attentive protector of his people." By refusing to sanction the negotiations of his panic-stricken ministers he prevented their making a separate peace with Germany after France collapsed. He was in constant touch with the Resistance, and large sections of it looked upon him as an inspiration. . . . He supported with his own resources some forty journalists who refused to write under the Germans. . . . Through the Aid to Prisoners' Children he was foster-father to 5,000 boys and girls. He turned the Resistance from a "scorched earth" movement into constructive, humanitarian channels. He was entitled to be treated more leniently than ordinary prisoners. *He made of that leniency a weapon against his captors.*

RUTH A. ELLIOTT

Meadville, Pa., April 2

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Leopold's Self-Interest

Dear Sirs: Oh nuts! Did Leopold assume the title of Saxe-Coburg Gotha for the benefit of his country, too? Has he been behaving now as if he had not his own interests but the interests of his country at heart? Miss Elliott says he went to Berchtesgaden exclusively for the good of his country. How does she know? Did not Leopold's whole behavior in 1940 and 1941 *prove* that he considered that Hitler had won the war and that his (Leopold's) duty to himself (and "to his country") was to accommodate himself to Hitler's New Order, and fit into it? If he was such an inspiration to the Resistance, why are most of the alumni of the Resistance against him now? And why are *all* the former collaborators for him? Of course, Miss Elliott can show a few cases where Leopold was of some service to non-collaborators. All the quislings of the world took out little insurances of that sort. Her defense of Leopold is exactly like that put forward by Laval before he was shot.

ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, France, April 10

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